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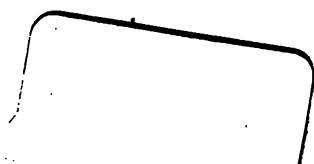
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Clarendon Press Series

LIVY
BOOKS V, VI, VII

A. R. CLUER

London

HENRY FROWDE



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Clarendon Press Series

LIVY

BOOKS V, VI, AND VII

FROM THE WAR AGAINST VEII TO THE BEGINNING
OF THE SAMNITE WARS

EDITED, WITH NOTES

BY

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

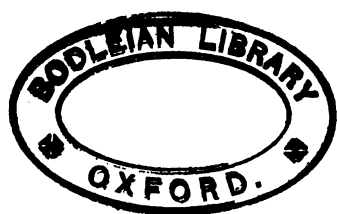
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INTRODUCTION.

THE events narrated in the three books comprised in this edition fall within the dates 403 B.C. to 342 B.C. (A.U.C. 351 to 413). For a summary of them Mommsen, 'History of Rome,' book ii. chapters 3, 4, and 5 may be consulted. Much that is legendary is interwoven with the narrative as presented by Livy. Even when dealing with events of a later date and of comparatively greater importance (e.g. the campaigns of Hannibal), the historian of Rome has been shown to have been more than once wanting in accuracy, even if not inclined to a remissness which one might reasonably expect to be avoided. But criticisms, more or less sweeping and dogmatic, may be found in the works of those able writers who have enriched the literature of the present century with their researches into the truthfulness of Roman history. It is not our intention to repeat them here. Only it may be remarked, in justice to Livy, that he was himself fully aware of the legendary and poetical nature of many of the tales which he had to record, and which had become part of the cherished traditions of his countrymen. He had set himself the task of compiling the records of the Roman people from the earliest times; and the writers of the Augustan period had no tendency to deal with the past in a critical or sceptical spirit. The rules of historical criticism are of modern growth, and are perhaps scarcely yet finally settled; therefore allowance can fairly be made for a writer who, in presence of the world-wide majesty of the nation to which he belonged, declined to startle his readers by refuting or even seriously questioning those facts which threw a glamour over the history of their ancestors, and to whose judgment poetical justice rather than

dispassionate investigation seemed best adapted to the traditional records of bygone days.

The chief events included in these books are the siege and capture of Veii by the Romans, and the subsequent capture of Rome by the Gauls : the rise of the city from its ruins, and the conflicts in which it was engaged against the waning power of the Etruscan nation, more than once having again to encounter the forces of the Celts who had inflicted so crushing a defeat on the power of Rome : and the beginning of the war known as the Samnite War. Internally there belongs to this period that portion of the struggle of the Orders, of the Plebs against the Patricians, which Mommsen terms 'the equalization of the orders and the new aristocracy.' The Licinio-Sextian laws which established the absolute right of the plebeians to one of the consulships, the appointment of plebeian Masters of the Horse, and even a plebeian dictator, broke down the long-standing political distinctions and did away with the class privileges which had long made the patricians as such the dominating power in Rome. The success of Licinius and his colleagues was due to the fact that the leading plebeians (who practically had as little sympathy as the patricians with the special burdens of the proletariat) took advantage of the public indignation against usury and the exactions of the capitalist class to force their way to the highest offices of state. It is remarkable that the Licinian laws were finally carried *en masse*—the bulk of the plebs being indifferent to the political claims of their leaders, provided some genuine relief against the burden of debt were devised for themselves. But the leading plebeians were not eager merely to remove the grievances of their poorer fellow-citizens. To quote the words of Licinius as recorded by Dio Cassius, 'If the people would not eat, they should not drink either ;' and in the end, the aims of the compromise were achieved. The first law was directed to a settlement of the question of debt ; the interest already paid by debtors was to be deducted from the capital, and the remainder of the debt to be paid within three years in equal instalments. The second (which is not classed as agrarian by Livy) provided that no one should hold as *possessor* more than

500 jugera of public land; the theory and practice still being that the state owned the *publicus ager*, and granted it to occupiers, retaining, as we should say, the freehold in itself. The third directed the abolition of the office of military tribunes with consular power, and expressly enacted that of the two consuls one must always be a plebeian. The first caught the votes of the humblest classes; the second was a bait for the more well-to-do and the farmers: the third betrayed the real reason of the attitude of these champions of the plebs.

It is impossible with the scanty materials which we possess to judge accurately of the justice or injustice of the proposals with reference to usury. So far as we can see, the laws of Rome gave an enormous power to the money-lenders—a law of the XII Tables even allowed the creditors to divide among themselves the body of an insolvent debtor; and though a law so atrocious must have virtually defeated itself, its very presence among the statutes of the Romans shows that it was an enactment made by the rich for themselves, and that the debtor was practically at the mercy of a relentless creditor. Even in more enlightened times, when statesmen have attempted to legislate for a financial crisis, the remedies proposed usually betray a strange amount of inability on the part of those who wish to cope with a difficulty which they either do not understand or which they are compelled to meet in such a manner as will satisfy the clamour of ignorance and interested prejudice. The grievance of debt had in earlier days brought about the first secession of the plebs; and even if the measures brought forward by Licinius failed to remove the causes which underlay the financial troubles of Rome, they at least alleviated the distress for a considerable time, while they simultaneously served as a lever to raise the plebs to political equality with the patricians, and to remove the most long-standing source of conflict and dissension between the orders.

Viewed thus, with regard to the internal and constitutional development of the nation, these three books constitute one of the most important chapters of Roman history. The success of the plebs was indeed a bitter draught for the privileged

classes ; but it was none the less wholesome and necessary. When on one or two occasions the patricians by an electioneering trick violated the law and chose two of their own body to fill the consulship, the plebs retaliated soon after by electing two plebeians ; and this proof of their strength and determination prevented any similar attempt by the patriciate in the future. The mass of the people, as is usual in times when men's feelings are deeply stirred by some question of political reform, were probably disappointed. The conditions of daily life, the supplies of daily necessities, were not made any easier or more plentiful by the overthrow of privilege. But the enthusiasm and resolute perseverance which had been called into play in order to break down so anomalous an inequality were not without their fruits. Rome, once started in the career of conquest by Camillus, was enabled to present a united front to her enemies during the two centuries of wars which with slight interruptions fill the pages of her history until the final defeat and demolition of Carthage. The old quarrel was at an end. The fusion of classes had a permanent and lasting influence on the destinies of the imperial city. Later on, the scene changed, and the struggle entered upon a worse and more dangerous phase, when social rather than political wrongs brought about a revolution of a far more sweeping kind, and one which was only to be terminated, after long years of civil war, by the establishment of a military despotism.

Livy himself anticipates that his readers would be more anxious to peruse that portion of his history which treated of the later days of the Republic. That portion no longer exists for us ; but, if we may judge from what remains of his work, this great master of style could hardly have exceeded the power which he displays in dealing with the earlier periods. It is true that some of his finest passages (e. g. the timely intervention of Camillus at the moment when the Romans were bargaining for gold with their barbaric conquerors) are records of legends invented by a later age to conceal, if possible, that which was felt to disgrace the Empress of the world. Yet

there is a grandeur of language at the very outset of that memorable invasion of the Gauls, and a sustained vigour during the whole of the narrative, which cannot fail to impress and rivet the reader's attention. Livy has at once the defects and the merits of a poet ; he does not care much to sift truth from legend, but skilfully blends the two together in such manner as to form an admirable and striking picture, while the very ease with which he painted it has made the figures stand out life-like and prominent for centuries of readers. Equally admirable, though in a different style, is the history of the Licinian rogations ; the jealousy of the Fabian sisters, the self-possessed superiority of the one contrasting with the ill-concealed vexation and inexperience of the other ; the prompt action of the tribune, the husband of the younger Fabia, his terse pointed language, and his steady perseverance for eleven years are skilfully put in the foreground ; even the perplexity which the historian shows in dealing with the refusal of the tribunes to submit to the dictator who had been appointed for the express purpose of overawing them evinces his wonderful capacity for producing effect, and the whole scene passes before one's eyes as a series of striking tableaux, which in his judgment would have been spoilt by a more prosaic treatment. The subordinate parts also are not less clearly treated ; indeed few writers could have given such interest to the endless tales of petty wars which he had to recount, each a repetition of its predecessor, yet sufficiently varied to escape at least from the censure of monotony and dullness. As minor points of ingenuity in composition may be noted the tale of the seizure of the Veientine prophet by the powerful Roman soldier, where the very complexity of the sentence seems to illustrate the subtle combination and cunning of the device ; the ignominious return of the schoolmaster at Falerii, scourged by his own pupils whom he had intended to betray to the enemy ; the attitude of the people of Tarquinii, transacting all the business of everyday life while the enemy had actually entered the open gates of their town ; and the well-timed generosity of M. Manlius, answered by the impetuous gratitude of the centurion whom he liberated, so

graphically characteristic of the easily-roused Italian character. More particularly too may be noticed the apt language, the words and phrases with which Livy contrives to present so clearly the feelings of a class or an individual. Of the speeches recorded by him, all have this trait peculiarly distinct and appropriate; and betray at once the composition of the man of letters and his ready ability to seize the attitude of the speaker and the words which express that attitude most vividly. The most elaborate of all—the address by which the people of Capua sought to win alliance with the Romans—if not exactly modelled on the speech of the Corcyraean envoys in the first book of Thucydides, strongly reminds the reader of it, and in its argument, urging the question of expediency as against formal rights, certainly goes over the same ground. But similarity of circumstances, possibly coupled with an unconscious recollection of that which might have served as a model, will sufficiently account for the resemblance; for Livy was not a writer who was in need of the dangerous assistance supplied by plagiarism. It would occupy too much space to quote instances of this aptness of language in detail; but a careful attention to it will amply repay any reader, who tries for himself to turn Livy's phrases by the English which is really suited to them. The speech of Appius Claudius towards the end of the sixth book may be referred to as one of the most admirable instances of his power, expressing as it certainly does a great deal of the author's own feeling towards the chief disturbing element of these early times, the irrepressible tribune of the plebs, skilfully put into the mouth of a Claudius, the type of aristocratic resistance to these plebeian agitators. Sympathy with men who sought to upset or reform the existing order of things is not to be expected from the great writers of the Augustan age. Literature was flourishing under the patronage of the court; and what it gained in grace and elegance was balanced by what it could not fail to lose in independence and honesty of judgment. Thus, whether from personal bias or from imperial influence, the historian of Rome cannot be called an impartial writer. He has his prejudices, as all men have; and yet, from

his narrative of events, although a hasty perusal may be misleading, the truth can be still sifted by careful criticism, and the real connexion of cause and effect, with the general tendencies of the various movements, observed.

The notes were at first written without reference to other authorities or commentators ; additions were afterwards made, chiefly from Weissenborn's well-known edition (4th ed.) and, it is believed, have been in all cases acknowledged. Biographical and geographical elucidations have been mostly avoided ; and it is hoped that the work bestowed on these three books may prove a help to the student towards the mastering of difficulties and also induce him to follow out for himself the chief aim of the editor—to present the Latin language in a thoroughly English form and to give some life and reality to a study which too often becomes dull and insipid from carelessness and want of sympathy.

The text, by the kind permission of Professor Madvig, is taken from his second edition (1875). It may be well to add that words in *italics* have been supplied to the text ; words included in brackets [] are considered doubtful or unnecessary ; and an asterisk shows that the passage is corrupt.

A. R. C.

TITI LIVII LIBRI V, VI, VII.

LIBER V.

1. PACE alibi parta Romani Veique in armis erant tanta ira odioque, ut victis finem adesse appareret. Comitia utriusque populi longe diversa ratione facta sunt. Romani 2 auxere tribunorum militum consulari potestate numerum; octo, quot nunquam antea, creati, M'. Aemilius Mamercinus iterum, L. Valerius Potitus tertium, App. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Iulius Iulus, M. Postumius, M. Furius Camillus, M. Postumius Albinus. Veientes contra 3 taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere. Offendit ea res populorum Etruriae animos, non maiore odio regni quam ipsius regis. Gravis 4 iam is antea genti fuerat opibus superbiaque, quia sollemnia ludorum, quos intermittere nefas est, violenter diremisset, quum 5 ob iram repulsae, quod suffragio duodecim populorum alius sacerdos ei praelatus esset, artifices, quorum magna pars ipsius servi erant, ex medio ludicro repente abduxit. Gens 6 itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod excelleret arte colendi eas, auxilium Veientibus negandum, donec sub rege essent, decrevit; cuius decreti suppressa 7 fama est Veis propter metum regis, qui, a quo tale quid dictum referretur, pro seditionis eum principe, non vani sermonis auctore habebat. Romanis etsi quietae res ex 8 Etruria nuntiabantur, tamen, quia omnibus conciliis eam rem

9 agitari afferebatur, ita muniebant, ut ancipitia munimenta
essent: alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum eruptiones
versa, aliis frons in Etruriam spectans auxiliis, si qua forte
inde venirent, obstruebatur.

2. Quum spes maior imperatoribus Romanis in obsidione
quam in oppugnatione esset, hibernacula etiam, res nova
militi Romano, aedificari coepta, consiliumque erat hiemando
2 continuare bellum. Quod postquam tribunis plebis, iam diu
nullam novandi res causam invenientibus, Romam est alla-
3 tum, in contionem prosiliunt, sollicitant plebis animos, hoc
illud esse dictitantes, quod aera militibus sint constituta; nec
4 se fefellisse, id donum inimicorum veneno illitum fore. Ven-
isse libertatem plebis; remotam in perpetuum et ablegatam
ab urbe et ab re publica iuventutem iam ne hiemi quidem
aut tempori anni cedere ac domos ac res invisere suas.
5 Quam putarent continuatae militiae causam esse? Nullam
profecto aliam inventuros, quam ne quid per frequentiam
iuvenum eorum, in quibus vires omnes plebis essent, agi de
6 commodis eorum posset. Vexari praeterea et subigi multo
acrius quam Veientes; quippe illos hiemem sub tectis suis
7 agere, egregiis muris situque naturali urbem tutantes, militem
Romanum in opere ac labore, nivibus pruinisque obrutum,
sub pellibus durare, ne hiemis quidem spatio, quae omnium
8 bellorum terra marique sit quies, arma deponentem. Hoc
neque reges neque ante tribuniciam potestatem creatam
superbos illos consules neque triste dictatoris imperium ne-
que importunos decemviros iniunxisse servitutis, ut perennem
militiam facerent. Quod tribuni militum in plebe Romana
9 regnum exercerent? Quidnam illi consules dictatoresve
facturi essent, qui proconsularem imaginem tam saevam ac
trucem fecerint? Sed id accidere haud immerito. Non
fuisse ne in octo quidem tribunis militum locum ulli plebeio.
10 Antea trina loca cum contentione summa patricos explere

solitos; nunc iam octoiuges ad imperia obtinenda ire, et ne in turba quidem haerere plebeium quemquam, qui, si nihil aliud, admoneat collegas, liberos et cives eorum, non servos 11 militare, quos hieme saltem in domos ac tecta reduci oporteat et aliquo tempore anni parentes liberosque ac con- 12 iuges invisere et usurpare libertatem et creare magistratus. Haec taliaque vociferantes adversarium haud imparem nacti 13 sunt App. Claudium, relictum a collegis ad tribunicias seditiones comprimendas, virum imbutum iam ab iuventa certaminibus plebeiis, quem auctorem aliquot annis ante fuisse 14 memoratum est per collegarum intercessionem tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae.

3. Is tum iam non promptus ingenio tantum, sed usu etiam exercitatus, talem orationem habuit: 'Si unquam 2 dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestra an sua causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno desisse dubitari certum habeo; et quum laetor, tandem 3 longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quod secundis potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis et propter vos rei publicae gratulor. An est quisquam, qui 4 dubitet, nullis iniuriis nostris, si quae forte aliquando fuerunt, unquam aequae quam munere patrum in plebem, quum aera militantibus constituta sunt, tribunos plebis offensos ac concitados esse? Quid illos aliud aut tum timuisse cre- 5 ditis aut hodie turbare velle nisi concordiam ordinum, quam dissolvendae maxime tribuniciae potestatis rentur esse? Sic 6 hercule, tanquam artifices improbi, opus quaerunt, [qui] et semper aegri aliquid esse in re publica volunt, ut sit, ad cuius curationem a vobis adhibeantur. Utrum enim de- 7 fenditis an impugnatis plebem? Utrum militantium adversarii estis an causam agitis? Nisi forte hoc dicitis: "Quicquid patres faciunt, displicet, sive illud pro plebe sive contra plebem est," et, quemadmodum cum servis suis vetant 8

domini quicquam rei alienis hominibus esse pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio abstinere aequum censent, sic vos interdicitis patribus commercio plebis, ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostra provocemus plebem, nec plebs nobis
9 dicto audiens atque obediens sit. Quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis, non dico civilis, sed humani *animi* esset, favere vos magis et, quantum in vobis esset, indulgere potius
10 comitati patrum atque obsequio plebis oportuit? Quae si perpetua concordia sit, quis non spondere ausit, maximum hoc imperium inter finitimos brevi futurum esse?

4. Atque ego, quam hoc consilium collegarum meorum, quo abducere infecta re a Veis exercitum noluerunt, non utile solum, sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea disseram;
2 nunc de ipsa condicione dicere militantium libet; quam orationem non apud vos solum, sed etiam in castris si habeatur, ipso exercitu disceptante, aequam arbitror videri posse. In qua si mihi ipsi nihil, quod dicerem, in mentem venire posset, adversariorum certe orationibus contentus
3 essem. Negabant nuper, danda esse aera militibus, quia nunquam data essent. Quonam modo igitur nunc indignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adiectum commodi sit, eis
4 laborem etiam novum pro portione iniungi? Nusquam nec opera sine emolumento nec emolumentum ferme sine impensa opera est. Labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura,
5 societate quadam inter se naturali sunt iuncta. Molestae antea ferebat miles, se suo sumptu operam rei publicae praebere; gaudebat idem, partem anni se agrum suum colere, quaerere, unde domi militiaeque se ac suos tueri
6 posset; gaudet nunc, fructui sibi rem publicam esse, et laetus stipendium accipit; aequo igitur animo patitur, se ab domo ac re familiari, cui gravis impensa non est, paulo diutius
7 abesse. An, si ad calculos eum res publica vocet, non merito dicat: "Annua aera habes, annuam operam ede; an

tu aequum censes, militia semestri solidum te stipendium accipere?" Invitus in hac parte orationis, Quirites, moror; 8 sic enim agere debent, qui mercenario milite utuntur; nos tanquam cum civibus agere volumus, agique tanquam cum patria nobiscum aequum censemus. Aut non suscipi bellum oportuit, aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani et perfici quam primum oportet. Perficietur autem, si urgemus 9 obsessos, si non ante abscedimus, quam spei nostrae finem captis Veii imposuerimus. Si hercules nulla alia causa, ipsa indignitas perseverantiam imponere debuit. Decem 11 quondam annos urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem ab universa Graecia, quam procul ab domo? quot terras, quot maria distans? nos intra vicesimum lapidem, in conspectu 12 prope urbis nostrae, annuam oppugnationem perferre piget. Scilicet quia levis causa belli est nec satis quicquam iusti doloris est, quod nos ad perseverandum stimulet. Septies 13 rebellarunt; in pace nunquam fida fuerunt; agros nostros millies depopulati sunt; Fidenates deficere a nobis coegerunt; colonos nostros ibi interfecerunt; auctores fuere contra 14 ius caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum; Etruriam omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt, hodieque id moliantur; res repetentes legatos nostros haud procul afuit quin violarent.

5. Cum his molliter et per dilationes bellum geri oportet? Si nos tam iustum odium nihil movet, ne illa quidem, oro vos, movent? Operibus ingentibus saepta urbs est, quibus 2 intra muros coercetur hostis; agrum non coluit, et culta evastata sunt bello; si reducimus exercitum, quis est, qui 3 dubitet, illos non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi, sed etiam necessitate imposita ex alieno praedandi, quum sua amiserint, agrum nostrum invasuros? Non differimus igitur bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostros accipimus. Quid? 4 illud, quod proprie ad milites pertinet, quibus boni tribuni

plebis tum stipendium extorquere voluerunt, nunc consultum
5 repente volunt, quale est? Vallum fossamque, ingentis
utramque rem operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt; castella
primo pauca, postea, exercitu aucto, creberrima fecerunt;
munitiones non in urbem modo, sed in Etruriam etiam
6 spectantes, si qua inde auxilia veniant, opposuere; quid
turres, quid vineas testudinesque et alium oppugnandarum
urbium apparatus loquar? Quum tantum laboris exhaustum
sit et ad finem iam operis tandem perventum, relinquendane
haec censetis, ut ad aetatem rursus novus de integro his
7 instituendis exsudetur labor? Quanto est minus opera tueri
facta et instare ac perseverare defungique cura *brevi*? brevis
enim profecto res est, si uno tenore peragitur nec ipsi per
intermissiones has intervallaque lentiores spem nostram
8 facimus. Loquor de opere et de temporis iactura; quid?
periculi, quod differendo bello adimus, num oblivisci nos
haec tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Veios auxiliis
9 patiuntur? Ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, oderunt, ne-
gant missuros; quantum in illis est, capere Veios licet.
Quis est, qui spondeat, eundem, si differtur bellum, animum
10 postea fore, quum, si laxamentum dederis, maior frequentior-
que legatio itura sit, quum id, quod nunc offendit Etruscos,
rex creatus Veiiis, mutari spatio interposito possit vel con-
sensu civitatis, ut eo reconcilient Etruriae animos, vel ipsius
voluntate regis, qui obstare regnum suum saluti civium nolit?
11 Videte, quot res, quam inutiles sequantur illam viam consilii,
iactura operum tanto labore factorum, vastatio imminens
finium nostrorum, Etruscum bellum pro Veiente concitatum.
12 Haec sunt, tribuni, consilia vestra, non hercule dissimilia ac
si quis aegro, qui curari se fortiter passus extemplo con-
valescere possit, cibi gratia praesentis aut potionis longin-
quum et forsitan insanabilem morbum efficiat.

6. Si, mediusfidius, ad hoc bellum nihil pertineret, ad

disciplinam certe militiae plurimum intererat, insuescere militem nostrum non solum parata victoria frui, sed, si etiam res lentior sit, pati taedium et quamvis serae spei 2 exitum exspectare et, si non sit aestate perfectum bellum, hiemem opperiri nec, sicut aestivas aves, statim autumnio tecta ac recessum circumspicere. Obsecro vos: venandi 3 studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes silvasque rapit; belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere solet? Adeone effeminata corpora militum nostrorum esse putamus, 4 adeo molles animos, ut hiemem unam durare in castris, abesse ab domo non possint? ut tanquam navale bellum tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni gerant, non aestus, non frigora pati possint? Erubescant profecto, 5 si quis eis haec obiiciat, contendantque, et animis et corporibus suis virilem patientiam inesse, et se iuxta hieme atque aestate bella gerere posse, nec se patrociniū molitiae inertiaeque mandasse tribunis, et meminisse, hanc ipsam potestatem non in umbra nec in tectis maiores suos creasse. Haec virtute militum vestrorum, haec Romano 6 nomine sunt digna, non Veios tantum nec hoc bellum intueri, quod instat, sed famam et ad alia bella et ad ceteros populos in posterum quaerere. An mediocre discrimen 7 opinionis secuturum ex hac re putatis, utrum tandem finitimi populum Romanum eum esse putent, cuius si qua urbs primum illum brevissimi temporis sustinuerit impetum, nihil deinde timeat, an hic sit terror nominis nostri, ut exercitum 8 Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsessa semel amovere possit, nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit, nec impetu potius bella quam perseverantia gerat? Quae in omni quidem 9 genere militiae, maxime tamen in obsidendis urbibus necessaria est, quarum plerasque munitionibus ac naturali situ

inexpugnabiles fame sitique tempus ipsum vincit atque ex-
10 pugnat, sicut Veios expugnabit, nisi auxilio hostibus tribuni
plebis fuerint, et Romae invenerint praesidia Veientes, quae
11 nequicquam in Etruria quaerunt. An est quicquam, quod
Veientibus optatum aequè contingere possit, quam ut sedi-
tionibus primum urbs Romana, deinde velut ex contagione
12 castra impleantur? At hercule apud hostes tanta modestia
est, ut non obsidionis taedio, non denique regni quicquam
apud eos novatum sit, non negata auxilia ab Etruscis irri-
13 taverint animos; morietur enim extemplo, quicumque erit
seditionis auctor, nec cuiquam dicere ea licebit, quae apud
14 vos impune dicuntur. Fustuarium meretur, qui signa relin-
quit aut praesidio decedit; auctores signa relinquendi et de-
serendi castra non uni aut alteri militi, sed universis exer-
15 citibus palam in contione audiuntur: adeo, quicquid tribunus
plebi loquitur, etsi prodendae patriae dissolvendaeque rei pub-
licae est, assuectis quieti audire et dulcedine potestatis eius
16 capti quaelibet sub ea scelera latere sinitis. Reliquum est,
ut, quae hic vociferantur, eadem in castris et apud milites
agant et exercitus corrumpant ducibusque parere non pati-
17 antur, quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non senatum,
non magistratus, non leges, non morem maiorum, non in-
stituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.'

7. Par iam etiam in contionibus erat Appius tribunus
plebis, quum subito, unde minime quis crederet, accepta
calamitas apud Veios et superiorem Appium in causa et
concordiam ordinum maiorem ardoremque ad obsidendos
2 pertinacius Veios fecit. Nam quum agger promotus ad
urbem vineaeque tantum non iam iniunctae moenibus essent,
dum opera interdiu fiunt intentius quam nocte custodiuntur,
3 patefacta repente porta, ingens multitudo, facibus maxime
armata, ignes coniecit, horaeque momento simul aggerem
ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit; mul-

tique ibi mortales, nequicquam opem ferentes, ferro ignique absumpti sunt. Quod ubi Romam est nuntiatum, maestitiam omnibus, senatui curam metumque iniecit, ne tum vero sustineri nec in urbe seditio nec in castris posset, et tribuni plebis velut ab se victae rei publicae insultarent, quum 5 repente, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, concilio prius inter sese habito, senatum adeunt, factaque dicendi potestate, equis se suis stipendia facturos promittunt. Quibus quum amplissimis verbis gratiae ab 6 senatu actae essent, famaue ea forum atque urbem pervasisset, subito ad curiam concursus fit plebis; pedestris 7 ordinis [se] aiunt nunc esse operam [que] rei publicae extra ordinem polliceri, seu Veios seu quo alio ducere velint; si Veios ducti sint, negant se inde prius quam capta urbe hostium redituros esse. Tum vero iam superfundenti se laetitiae vix temperatum est; non enim, sicut equites, dato magistratibus negotio laudari iussi, neque aut in curiam 9 vocati, quibus responsum daretur, aut limine curiae continebatur senatus; sed pro se quisque ex superiore loco ad multitudinem in comitio stantem voce manibusque significare publicam laetitiam, beatam urbem Romanam et invictam et 10 aeternam illa concordia dicere, laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum laudibus ferre, victam esse fateri comitatem benignitatemque senatus. Certatim patribus plebique 11 manare gaudio lacrimae, donec, revocatis in curiam patribus, senatus consultum factum est, ut tribuni militares, contione 12 advocata, peditibus equitibusque gratias agerent, memorem pietatis eorum erga patriam dicerent senatum fore; placere autem, omnibus his voluntariam extra ordinem professis militiam aera procedere; et equiti certus numerus aeris est assignatus. Tum primum equis suis merere equites coeperunt. 13 Voluntarius ductus exercitus Veios non amissa modo restituit opera, sed nova etiam instituit. Ab urbe commeatus

intentiore quam antea subvehi cura, ne quid tam bene merito exercitui ad usum deesset.

8. Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit C. Servilium Aham tertium, Q. Servilium, L. Verginium, Q. Sulpicium, A. Manlium iterum, M'. Sergium iterum.
- 2 His tribunis, dum cura omnium in Veiens bellum intenta est, neglectum Anxuri praesidium vacationibus militum et Volscos mercatores vulgo receptando, proditis repente portarum
- 3 custodibus oppressum est. Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros vicinasque urbes negotiabantur. Nec Veis melius gesta res, quod tum caput omnium curarum publicarum erat; nam et duces Romani plus inter se irarum quam adversus hostes animi habuerunt, et auctum est bellum adventu repentino
- 5 Capenatum atque Faliscorum. Hi duo Etruriae populi, quia proximi regione erant, devictis Veis bello quoque
- 6 Romano se proximos fore credentes, Falisci propria etiam causa infesti, quod Fidenati bello se iam antea immiscuerant, per legatos ultro citroque missos iure iurando inter se obligati, cum exercitibus necopinato ad Veios accessere. Forte ea regione, qua M'. Sergius tribunus militum praeerat, castra adorti sunt, ingentemque terrorem intulere, quia Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magna mole adesse Romani crediderant. Eadem opinio Veientes in urbe concitavit. Ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur; concurrentesque quum huc atque illuc signa transferrent, nec Veientem satis cohibere intra munitiones nec suis munimentis
- 9 arcere vim ac tueri se ab exteriori poterant hoste. Una spes erat, si ex maioribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae legiones aliae adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum pugnarent; sed castris praeerat
- 10 Verginius, privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. Is, quum pleraque castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrinque

invehi hostem nuntiaretur, in armis milites tenuit, si opus foret auxilio, collegam dictitans ad se missurum. Huius 11 arrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat, qui, ne quam opem ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste quam vincere per civem maluit. Diu in medio caesi milites; postremo 12 desertis munitionibus, perpauci in maiora castra, pars maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. Ubi quum omnem culpam in collegam inclinaret, acciri Verginium ex castris, interea praeesse legatos placuit. Acta deinde in senatu res 13 est certatumque inter collegas maledictis. Pauci rei publicae, huic atque illi, ut quosque studium privatim aut gratia occu-
paverant, adsunt.

9. Primores patrum, sive culpa sive infelicitate imperatorum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset, censuere, non expectandum iustum tempus comitiorum, sed extemplo novos tribunos militum creandos esse, qui calendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent. In quam sententiam quum pedibus 2 iretur, ceteri tribuni militum nihil contradicere; at enimvero 3 Sergius Verginiusque, propter quos paenitere magistratuum eius anni senatum apparebat, primo deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere senatus consulto, negare, se ante idus Decembres, sollemnem ineundis magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse. Inter haec tribuni plebis, quum in concordia 4 hominum secundisque rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces repente minari tribunis militum, nisi in auctoritate senatus essent, se in vincla eos duci iussuros esse. Tum 5 C. Servilius Ahala tribunus militum: 'Quod ad vos attinet, tribuni plebis, minasque vestras, ne ego libenter experirer, quam non plus in iis iuris quam in vobis animi esset; sed 6 nefas est tendere adversus auctoritatem senatus. Proinde et vos desinite inter nostra certamina locum iniuriæ quaerere, et collegae aut facient, quod censet senatus, aut, si pertinacius tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam, qui eos abire

7 magistratu cogat.' Quum omnium assensu comprobata oratio esset, gauderentque patres sine tribuniciae potestatis terriculis inventam esse aliam vim maiorem ad coercendos
8 magistratus, victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum habuere, qui calendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, seque ante eam diem magistratu abdicavere.

10. L. Valerio Potito quartum, M. Furio Camillo iterum, M'. Aemilio Mamercino tertium, Cn. Cornelio Cosso iterum, K. Fabio Ambusto, L. Iulio Iulo tribunis militum consulari
2 potestate multa domi militiæque gesta; nam et bellum multiplex fuit eodem tempore, ad Veios et ad Capenam et ad
3 Falerios et in Volscis, ut Anxur ab hostibus recuperaretur, et Romae simul dilectu, simul tributo conferendo laboratum est, et de tribunis plebi cooptandis contentio fuit, et haud parvum motum duo iudicia, eorum, qui paulo ante consulari
4 potestate fuerant, excivere. Omnium primum tribunis militum fuit, dilectum haberi; nec iuniores modo conscripti, sed seniores etiam coacti nomina dare, ut urbis custodiam
5 agerent. Quantum autem augebatur militum numerus, tanto maiore pecunia in stipendium opus erat, eaque tributo conficiebatur, invitis conferentibus, qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem opera quoque militari laborandum servien-
6 dumque rei publicae erat. Haec, per se gravia, indigniora ut viderentur, tribuni plebis seditiosis contionibus faciebant, ideo aera militibus constituta esse arguendo, ut plebis partem
7 militia, partem tributo conficerent. Unum bellum annum iam tertium trahi et consulto male geri, ut diutius gerant. In quattuor deinde bella uno dilectu exercitus scriptos, et
8 pueros quoque ac senes extractos. Iam non aestatis nec hiemis discrimen esse, ne ulla quies unquam miserae plebi
9 sit; quae nunc etiam vectigalis ad ultimum facta sit, ut, quum confecta labore, vulneribus, postremo aetate corpora rettulerint incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio domi

invenerint, tributum ex affecta re familiari pendant aeraque militaria, velut fenore accepta, multiplicia rei publicae red-
dant. Inter dilectum tributumque et occupatos animos 10
maiorum rerum curis, comitiis tribunorum plebis numerus
expleri nequit. Pugnatum inde, in loca vacua ut patricii
cooptarentur. Postquam obtineri non poterat, tamen labe- 11
factandae legis [tribuniciae] causa effectum est, ut coopta-
rentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius et M. Acutius, haud dubie
patriciorum opibus.

11. Fors ita tulit, ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn. Trebonius
esset, qui nomini ac familiae debitum praestare videretur
Treboniae legis patrocinium. Is, quod petissent patres 2
quondam primo incepto repulsi, tandem [tribunos militum]
expugnasse, vociferans, legem Treboniam sublatam et co-
optatos tribunos plebis non suffragiis populi, sed imperio
patriciorum; eo revolve rem, ut aut patricii aut patriciorum
asseclae habendi tribuni plebis sint; eripi sacratas leges, 3
extorqueri tribuniciam potestatem; id fraude patriciorum,
scelere ac proditione collegarum factum arguere. Quum 4
arderent invidia non patres modo, sed etiam tribuni plebis,
cooptati pariter et qui cooptaverant, tum ex collegio tres,
P. Curatius, M. Metilius, M. Minucius, trepidi rerum suarum,
in Sergium Verginiumque, prioris anni tribunos militares,
incurrunt; in eos ab se iram plebis invidiamque die dicta
avertunt. Quibus dilectus, quibus tributum, quibus diutina 5
militia longinquitasque belli sit gravis, qui clade accepta ad
Veios doleant, qui amissis liberis, fratribus, propinquis, affini-
bus lugubres domos habeant, iis publici privatiue doloris
exsequendi ius potestatemque ex duobus noxiis capitibus
datam ab se memorant. Omnium namque malorum in 6
Sergio Verginioque causas esse; nec id accusatorem magis
arguere quam fateri reos, qui noxii ambo alter in alterum
causam conferant, fugam Sergii Verginius, Sergius prodi-

7 tionem increpans Verginii. Quorum adeo incredibilem amen-
tiam fuisse, ut multo veri similis sit, compecto eam rem et
8 communi fraude patriciorum actam. Ab his et prius datum
locum Veientibus ad incendenda opera belli trahendi causa,
et nunc proditum exercitum, tradita Faliscis Romana castra.
9 Omnia fieri, ut consenescat ad Veios iuventus, nec de agris
nec de aliis commodis plebis ferre ad populum tribuni fre-
quentiaque urbana celebrare actiones et resistere conspira-
10 tioni patriciorum possint. Praeudicium iam de reis et ab
senatu et ab populo Romano et ab ipsorum collegis factum
11 esse; nam et senatus consulto eos ab re publica remotos
esse, et recusantes abdicare se magistratu dictatoris metu ab
collegis coercitos esse, et populum Romanum tribunos
creasse, qui non idibus Decembribus, die sollemni, sed ex-
templo calendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, quia
stare diutius res publica his manentibus in magistratu non
12 posset; et tamen eos, tot iudiciis confossos praedamna-
tosque, venire ad populi iudicium et existimare, defunctos
se esse satisque poenarum dedisse, quod duobus mensibus
13 citius privati facti sint, neque intelligere, nocendi sibi diutius
tum potestatem ereptam esse, non poenam irrogatam;
quippe et collegis abrogatum imperium, qui certe nihil deli-
14 quissent. Illos repeterent animos Quirites, quos recenti
clade accepta habuissent, quum fuga trepidum, plenum
vulnorum, cum pavore incidentem portis exercitum viderint,
non fortunam aut quemquam deorum, sed hos duces ac-
15 cusantem. Pro certo se habere, neminem in contione stare,
qui illo die non caput, domum fortunasque L. Verginii ac
16 M'. Sergii sit exsecratus detestatusque. Minime convenire,
quibus iratos quisque deos precatus sit, in iis sua potestate,
quum liceat et oporteat, non uti. Nunquam deos ipsos
admovere nocentibus manus; satis esse, si occasione ulcis-
cendi laesos arment.

12. His orationibus incitata plebs denis millibus aeris
gravis reos condemnat, nequicquam Sergio Martem com-
munem belli fortunamque accusante, Verginio deprecante,
ne infelicio domi quam militiae esset. In hos versa ira 2
populi cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque contra legem
Treboniam factae memoriam obscuram fecit. Victores tri- 3
buni, ut praesentem mercedem iudicii plebes haberet, legem
agrariam promulgant, tributumque conferri prohibent, quum 4
tot exercitibus stipendio opus esset, resque militia ita pros-
pere gererentur, ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei.
Namque Veiis castra, quae amissa erant, recuperata castellis
praesidiisque firmabantur; praeerant tribuni militum M'.
Aemilius et K. Fabius. A M. Furio in Faliscis et a Cn. 5
Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi;
praedae actae incendiisque villarum ac frugum vastati fines;
oppida *nec* oppugnata nec obsessa sunt. At in Volscis de 6
populato agro Anxur nequicquam oppugnatum, loco alto
situm, et postquam vis irrita erat, vallo fossaque obsideri
coeptum; Valerio Potito Volsci provincia evenerat. Hoc 7
statu militarium rerum, seditio intestina maiore mole coorta,
quam bella tractabantur; et quum tributum conferri per
tribunos non posset, nec stipendium imperatoribus mittere-
tur, aeraque militaria flagitaret miles, haud procul erat, quin
castra quoque urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur.
Inter has iras plebis in patres, quum tribuni plebi nunc illud 8
tempus esse dicerent stabiliendae libertatis et ab Sergiis Ver-
giniisque ad plebeios viros fortes ac strenuos transferendi
summi honoris, non tamen ultra processum est, quam ut 9
unus ex plebe, usurpandi iuris causa, P. Licinius Calvus
tribunus militum consulari potestate crearetur; ceteri patricii 10
creati, P. Manlius, L. Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Furius Medul-
linus, L. Publius Volscus. Ipsa plebes mirabatur, se tantam 11
rem obtinuisse, non is modo, qui creatus erat, vir nullis ante

honoribus usus, vetus tantum senator et aetate iam gravis;
12 nec satis constat, cur primus ac potissimus ad novum delibandum honorem sit habitus. Alii Cn. Cornelii fratris, qui tribunus militum priore anno fuerat triplexque stipendium equitibus dederat, gratia extractum ad tantum honorem credunt, alii orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia ordinum, patribus plebique gratam, habuisse. Hac victoria comitiorum exsultantes tribuni plebis, quod maxime rem publicam impediabat, de tributo remiserunt. Collatum obedienter missumque ad exercitum est.

13. Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est, neglectis die festo custodiis urbis. Insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa fuit, adeo ut viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. Anna nona ex ante convecta copia nihil mutavit. Et quia P. Licinius, ut ceperat haud tumultuose magistratum maiore gaudio plebis quam indignatione patrum, ita etiam gessit, dulcedo invasit proximis comitiis tribunorum militum plebeiis creandi. Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit; plebeios alios tribunos militum consulari potestate omnes fere centuriae dixere, M. Pomponium, Cn. Duillium, Voleronem Publilium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium.
4 Tristem hiemem sive ex intemperie caeli, raptim mutatione in contrarium facta, sive alia qua de causa gravis pestilens-
5 que omnibus animalibus aestas excepit; cuius insanabili perniciem quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri
6 Sibyllini ex senatus consulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris faciundis, lectisternio tunc primum in urbe Romana facto, per dies octo Apollinem Latonamque, Dianam et Herculem, Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus, quam amplissime tum
7 apparari poterat, stratis lectis placavere. Privatum quoque id sacrum celebratum est. Tota urbe patentibus ianuis promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in propatulo posito, notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos ferunt, et

cum inimicis quoque benigne ac comiter sermones habitos ; iurgiis ac litibus temperatum ; vinctis quoque dempta in eos dies vincula ; religioni deinde fuisse, quibus eam opem dii 8 tulissent, vinciri. Interim ad Veios terror multiplex fuit, 9 tribus in unum bellis collatis. Namque eodem, quo antea, modo circa munimenta, quum repente Capenates Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tres exercitus ancipiti proelio 10 pugnatum est. Ante omnia adiuvit memoria damnationis Sergii ac Verginii. Itaque e maioribus castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circumductae copiae Capenates in vallum Romanum versos ab tergo aggrediuntur ; inde 11 pugna coepta et Faliscis intulit terrorem, trepidantesque eruptio ex castris opportune facta avertit. Repulsos deinde insecuti victores ingentem ediderunt caedem ; nec ita multo 12 post iam palantes veluti † forte oblati populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere. Et Veientium refugientes 13 in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu, ne simul Romanus irrumperet, obiectis foribus extremos suorum excludere.

14. Haec eo anno acta ; et iam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope maior patribus quam belli cura erat, quippe non communicatum modo cum plebe, sed prope amissum cernentibus summum imperium. Itaque clarissimis 2 viris ex composito praeparatis ad petendum, quos praetereundi verecundiam crederent fore, nihilo minus ipsi, perinde ac si omnes candidati essent, cuncta experientes, non homines modo, sed deos etiam exciebant, in religionem vertentes comitia biennio habita : priore anno intolerandam hiemem 3 prodigiisque divinis similem coortam, proximo non prodigia, sed iam eventus : pestilentiam agris ubique illatam haud 4 dubia ira deum, quos pestis eius arcendae causa placandos esse in libris fatalibus inventum sit ; comitiis, auspicato quae fierent, indignum dis visum honores vulgari discriminaque

5 gentium confundi. Praeterquam maiestate petentium, religionem etiam attoniti homines patricos omnes, partem magnam honoratissimum quemque, tribunos militum consulari potestate creavere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum, M. Valerium Maximum, M. Furium Camillum iterum, L. Furium Medullinum tertium, Q. Servilium Fidenatem iterum, Q. Sulpicium Camerinum iterum. His tribunis ad Veios nihil admodum memorabile actum est; tota vis in populationibus
7 fuit. Duo summi imperatores, Potitus a Faleriis, Camillus a Capena praedas ingentes egere, nulla incolumi relicta re, cui ferro aut igni noceri posset.

15. Prodigia interim multa nuntiari, quorum pleraque, et quia singuli auctores erant, parum credita spretaque, et quia, hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea procurarent, haruspices non
2 erant; in unum omnium curae versae sunt, quod lacus in Albano nemore sine ullis caelestibus aquis causave qua alia, quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit.
3 Quidnam eo di portenderent prodigio, missi sciscitatum
4 oratores ad Delphicum oraculum. Sed propior interpretis fati oblatus senior quidam Veiens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantis in modum cecinit, priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua
5 emissa foret, nunquam potiturum Veis Romanum. Quod primo velut temere iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est, donec unus ex statione Romana percontatus proximum oppidanorum, iam per longinquitatem belli commercio sermonum facto, quisnam is esset, qui per ambages de lacu Albano iaceret, postquam audivit, haruspicem esse, vir haud intacti religionem animi, causatus de privati portenti procuratione, si operae illi esset, consulere velle, ad collo
7 quium vatem elicit. Quumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes sine ullo metu, praevalens iuvenis Romanus senem infirmum in conspectu omnium raptum,

nequicquam tumultuantibus Etruscis, ad suos transtulit. Qui quum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus, quidnam id esset, quod de lacu Albano docuisset, respondit, profecto iratos deos Veienti 9 populo illo fuisse die, quo sibi eam mentem obiecissent, ut excidium patriae fatale proderet. Itaque, quae tum cecinerit 10 divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec, ut indicta sint, revocare posse, et tacendo forsitan, quae di immortales vulgari velint, haud minus quam celanda effando nefas contrahi. Sic igitur 11 libris fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, quando aqua Albana abundasset, tum, si eam Romanus rite emisisset, victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat, deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse. Exsequebatur inde, quae 12 sollemnis derivatio esset; sed auctorem levem nec satis fidum super tanta re patres rati decrevere, legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas.

16. Priusquam a Delphis oratores redirent Albanive prodigii piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni militum consulari potestate, L. Iulius Iulus, L. Furius Medullinus quartum, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Postumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, A. Manlius, magistratum inierunt. Eo anno 2 Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. Quia multis simul bellis, Volscorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium obsidebatur, Aequorum ad Lavicos, qui Romanam ibi coloniam oppugnabant, ad hoc Veienti quoque et Falisco et Capenati bello occupatos videbant Romanos, nec intra muros quietiora negotia esse certaminibus patrum ac plebis, inter haec locum iniuriae 3 rati esse, praedatum in agrum Romanum cohortes expeditas mittunt: aut enim passuros inultam eam iniuriam Romanos, ne novo bello se onerarent, aut exiguo eoque parum valido exercitu persecuturos. Romanis indignitas 4 maior quam cura populationis Tarquiniensium fuit; eo nec magno conatu suscepta nec in longum dilata res est.

5 A. Postumius et L. Iulius non iusto dilectu (etenim ab tribunis
plebis impediabantur), sed prope voluntariorum, quos adhor-
tando incitaverant, coacta manu, per agrum Caeretem obli-
quis tramitibus egressi, redeuntes a populationibus gravesque
6 praeda Tarquinienses oppressere. Multos mortales obrun-
cant, omnes exuunt impedimentis, et receptis agrorum suorum
7 spoliis Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res
datum dominis; tertio incognita (erant autem ea pleraque
hostium ipsorum) sub hasta venire, quodque inde redactum,
8 militibus est divisum. Cetera bella, maximeque Veiens,
incerti exitus erant. Iamque Romani, desperata ope hu-
mana, fata et deos spectabant, quum legati ab Delphis
venerunt, sortem oraculi afferentes congruentem responso
9 captivi vatis: 'Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri,
cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas; emissam per agros
10 rigabis, dissipatamque rivis exstingues; tum tu insiste audax
hostium muris, memor, quam per tot annos obsides urbem,
ex ea tibi his, quae nunc panduntur, fatis victoriam datam.
11 Bello perfecto, donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato,
sacraque patria, quorum omissa cura est, instaurata, ut asso-
let, facito.'

17. Ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus, eumque
adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigii
2 Albani procuracionem ac deos rite placandos coepere; in-
ventumque tandem est, ubi neglectas caerimonias intermis-
sumve sollemne dii arguerent: nihil profecto aliud esse,
quam magistratus vitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in Albano
3 monte non rite concepisse; unam expiationem eorum esse,
ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de
4 integro repeterentur et interregnum iniretur. Ea ita facta
sunt ex senatus consulto. Interreges tres deinceps fuere,
5 L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus. Nun-
quam desitum interim turbari, comitia interpellantibus tribunis

plebis, donec convenisset prius, ut maior pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur. Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae habita,ulantibusque Capenatibus ac Faliscis, ut Veios communi animo consilioque omnes Etruriae populi ex obsidione eriperent, responsum est, antea 7 se id Veientibus negasse, quia, unde consilium non petissent super tanta re, auxilium petere non deberent; nunc iam pro se fortunam suam illis negare. Invasisse in 8 eam partem Etruriae gentem invisitatam; novos accolae Gallos esse, cum quibus nec pax satis fida nec bellum pro certo sit. Sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus 9 periculis consanguineorum id dari, ut, si qui iuventutis suae voluntate ad id bellum eant, non impediant. Eum 10 magnum advenisse hostium numerum, fama Romae erat, eoque mitescere discordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coeptae.

18. Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium Calvum praerogativa tribunum militum non petentem creat, moderationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, ceterum iam tum exactae aetatis; omnesque deinceps ex collegio eiusdem anni refici 2 apparebat, L. Titinium, Q. Manlium, P. Maenium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium. Qui priusquam renuntiarentur iure vocatis tribubus, permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit: ‘Omen concordiae, Quirites, rei maxime in hoc 3 tempus utilis, memoria nostri magistratus vos his comitiis petere in insequentem annum video; sed collegas eosdem 4 reficitis, etiam usu meliores factos; me iam non eundem, sed umbram nomenque P. Licinii relictum videtis. Vires corporis affectae, sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, memoria labat, vigor animi obtusus. En vobis’ inquit ‘iu- 5 venem,’ filium tenens, ‘effigiem atque imaginem eius, quem vos antea tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. Hunc ego institutum disciplina mea vicarium pro me rei publicae

do dicoque, vosque quaeso, Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti, meis quoque pro eo adiectis precibus, 6 mandetis.' Datum id petenti patri, filiusque eius P. Licinius tribunus militum consulari potestate cum iis, quos supra 7 scripsimus, declaratus. Titinius Genuciusque tribuni militum profecti adversus Faliscos Capenatesque, dum bellum maiore animo gerunt quam consilio, praecipitavere in in- 8 sidias. Genucius morte honesta temeritatem luens ante signa inter primores cecidit; Titinius in editum tumulum ex multa trepidatione militibus collectis aciem restituit; 9 nec se tamen aequo loco hosti commisit. Plus ignominiae erat quam cladis acceptum, quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum inde terroris non Romae modo, quo multiplex fama pervenerat, sed in castris quoque fuit ad Veios. 10 Aegre ibi miles retentus a fuga est, quum pervasisset castra rumor, ducibus exercituque caeso victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etruriaeque omnem iuventutem haud procul inde 11 abesse. His tumultuosiora Romae, iam castra ad Veios oppugnari, iam partem hostium tendere ad urbem agmine infesto, crediderant; concursumque in muros est, et matro- 12 narum, quas ex domo conciverat publicus pavor, obsecrationes in templis factae, precibusque ab dis petitum, ut exitium ab urbis tectis templisque ac moenibus Romanis arcerent, Veiosque eum averterent terrorem, si sacra renovata rite, si procurata prodigia essent.

19. Iam ludi Latinaeque instauratae erant, iam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veisique fata appetebant. 2 Igitur fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque patriae, M. Furius Camillus dictator dictus magistrum equi- 3 tum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit. Omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus; alia spes, alius animus hominum, 4 fortuna quoque alia urbis videri. Omnium primum in eos, qui a Veis in illo pavore fugerant, more militari animad-

vertit, effecitque, ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset. Deinde indicto dilectu in diem certam, ipse interim Veios ad confirmandos militum animos intercurrit; inde Romam 5 ad scribendum novum exercitum redit, nullo detrectante militiam. Peregrina etiam iuventus, Latini Hernicique, operam suam pollicentes ad id bellum venire; quibus quum 6 gratias in senatu egisset dictator, satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis, ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae Matris refectionem dedicaturum, iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam. Pro- 7 fectus cum exercitu ab urbe expectatione hominum maiore quam spe, in agro primum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert. Omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque 8 acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantum fudit hostes, sed castris quoque exiit ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum militi datum. Inde ad Veios exercitus ductus, 9 densioraque castella facta, et a procursationibus, quae multae temere inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto, ne quis iniussu pugnaret, ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit om- 10 nium longe maximum ac laboriosissimum cuniculus in arcem hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermitteretur opus, neu 11 sub terra continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt; nocte ac die nunquam ante omissum, quam in arcem viam facerent.

20. Dictator quum iam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore, quantum non omnibus in unum collatis ante bellis fuisset, ne quam 2 inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae partitae aut invidiam apud patres ex prodiga largitione caperet, litteras ad senatum misit, deum immortalium benignitate, suis consiliis, patientia militum Veios iam fore in potestate populi

4 Romani; quid de praeda faciendum censerent? Duae senatum distinebant sententiae, senis P. Licinii, quem primum dixisse, a filio interrogatum, ferunt, edici palam placere
5 populo, ut, qui particeps esse praedae vellet, in castra Veios iret, altera App. Claudii, qui largitionem novam, prodigam, inaequalem, inconsultam arguens, si semel nefas ducerent, captam ex hostibus in aerario exhausto bellis pecuniam esse, auctor erat stipendii ex ea pecunia militi numerandi, ut eo
6 minus tributum plebes conferret; eius enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos, non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum praerepturas fortium bellatorum praemia esse, quum ita ferme eveniat, ut segnior sit praedator, ut quisque laboris periculi praecipuam petere
7 partem soleat. Licinius contra suspectam et invisam semper eam pecuniam fore aiebat, causasque criminum ad plebem, 8 seditionum inde ac legum novarum praebituram; satius igitur esse, reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri, et sentire praedae fructum ex eo bello, in quo prope consenuerint. Gratius id fore laetiusque, quod quisque sua manu ex hoste captum domum rettulerit, quam si multiplex alterius arbitrio
9 accipiat. Ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex eo criminaque; eo delegasse ad senatum; senatum quoque debere reiectam rem ad se permittere plebi ac pati habere, quod
10 cuique fors belli dederit. Haec tutior visa sententia est, quae popularem senatum faceret. Edictum itaque est, ad praedam Veientem, quibus videretur, in castra ad dictatorem proficiscerentur.

21. Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum dictator auspicato egressus, quum edixisset, ut arma milites
2 caperent, 'Tuo ductu' inquit 'Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios, tibi
3 hinc decimam partem praedae voveo. Te simul, Iuno re-

gina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nos-
tram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum
amplitudine tua templum accipiat.' Haec precatus, super- 4
ante multitudine, ab omnibus locis urbem aggreditur, quo
minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset. Veientes 5
ignari, se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis pro-
ditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios votis
ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedes spec-
tare, seque ultimum illum diem agere, nihil minus timentes
quam, subrutis cuniculo moenibus, arcem iam plenam 6
hostium esse, in muros pro se quisque armati discurrent,
mirantes, quidnam id esset, quod, quum tot per dies nemo 7
se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum velut repentino
icti furore improvidi currerent ad muros. Inseritur huic 8
loco fabula, immolante rege Veientium vocem haruspici,
dicentis, qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset, ei victoriam dari,
exauditam in cuniculo movisse Romanos milites, ut adaperto
cuniculo exta raperent et ad dictatorem ferrent. Sed in 9
rebus tam antiquis, si, quae similia veris sint, pro veris
accipiantur, satis habeam; haec ad ostentationem scenae
gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam ad fidem neque affirmare
neque refellere operae pretium est. Cuniculus delectis mi- 10
litibus eo tempore plenus in aedem Iunonis, quae in
Veientana arce erat, armatos repente edidit, et pars aversos
in muris invadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum revellunt,
pars, quum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac ser-
vitiis iacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis ter- 11
rentium ac paventium vocibus, mixto mulierum ac puerorum
ploratu, complet. Momento temporis deiectis ex muro 12
undique armatis patefactisque portis, quum alii agmine
irruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus im-
pletur; omnibus locis pugnatur; deinde, multa iam edita 13
caede, senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere iubet,

14 ut ab inermi abstinence. Is finis sanguinis fuit. Dedi inde
inermes coepti, et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris
discurrit. Quae quum ante oculos eius aliquantum spe
atque opinione maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur
15 manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui deorum
hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur,
ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo
16 publicoque populi Romani liceret. Convertentem se inter
hanc venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsus cecidisse;
idque omen pertinuisse postea eventum rem coniectantibus
visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis
17 Romanae, quod post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque
ille dies caede hostium ac direptione urbis opulentissimae
est consumptus.

22. Postero die libera corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis; et quod rettulere secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad senatum, malignitatis auctores quaerendo, rem
2 arbitrii sui reiecisset, nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius ad senatum rettulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae auctor fuisset, acceptum referebant. Quum iam humanae opes egestae [a] Veiis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo,
4 coepere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno assignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere, primo
5 religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attricare non esset solitus. Dein quum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco, 'Visne Romam ire, Iuno?' dixisset, annuisse ceteri deam
6 conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae adiectum est, vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi moli-menti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac

facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum, aeternam 7
sedem suam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, per-
latam, ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, Camillus
dedicavit. Hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae 8
Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima clade indi-
cantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessat,
quum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset,
postremo, iam fato quoque urgente, operibus tamen, non vi
expugnata est.

23. Romam ut nuntiatum est Veios captos, quanquam et
prodigia procurata fuerant et vatum responsa et Pythicae
sortes notae, et, quantum humanis adiuvari consiliis potuerat
res, ducem M. Furium, maximum imperatorum omnium,
legerant, tamen, quia tot annis varie ibi bellatum erat mul- 2
taeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato immensum gau-
dium fuit, et priusquam senatus decerneret, plena omnia 3
templa Romanarum matrum grates dis agentium erant.
Senatus in quadriduum, quot dierum nullo ante bello, sup-
plicationes decernit. Adventus quoque dictatoris, omnibus 4
ordinibus obviam effusus, celebratior quam ullius unquam
antea fuit, triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei
illius modum aliquantum excessit. Maxime conspectus ipse 5
est, curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus, parumque id
non civile modo, sed humanum etiam visum. Iovis Solis- 6
que equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam
trahebant, triumphusque ob eam unam maxime rem clarior
quam gratior fuit. Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aven- 7
tino locavit, dedicavitque Matutae Matris; atque his divinis
humanisque rebus gestis, dictatura se abdicavit. Agi deinde 8
de Apollinis dono coeptum. Cui se decimam vovisse praedae
partem quum diceret Camillus, pontifices solvendum religione
populum censerent, haud facile inibatur ratio iubendi referre 9
praedam populum, ut ex ea pars debita in sacrum secer-

10 neretur. Tandem eo, quod lenissimum videbatur, decursum
est, ut, qui se domumque religione exsolvere vellet, quum
sibimet ipse praedam aestimasset suam, decimae pretium
11 partis in publicum deferret, ut ex eo donum aureum, dignum
amplitudine templi ac numine dei, ex dignitate populi Ro-
mani fieret. Ea quoque collatio plebis animos a Camillo
12 alienavit. Inter haec pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis
venerunt, impetrataque pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello
acquiesceret civitas, quam quod digni peterent.

24. Veii captis, sex tribunos militum consulari potestate
insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios, Cossum et
Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum, K. Fabium
Ambustum tertium, L. Furium Medullinum quintum, Q.
2 Servilium tertium. Corneliis Faliscum bellum, Valerio ac
Servilio Capenas sorte evenit. Ab iis non urbes vi aut
operibus tentatae, sed ager est depopulatus praedaeque rerum
agrestium actae; nulla felix arbor, nihil frugiferum in agro
3 relictum. Ea clades Capenatem populum subegit; pax
4 petentibus data; in Faliscis bellum restabat. Romae inte-
rim multiplex seditio erat, cuius leniendae causa coloniam
in Volscos, quo tria millia civium Romanorum scriberentur,
deducendam censuerant, triumvirique ad id creati terna
5 iugera et septunces viritim dividerant. Ea largitio sperni
coepta, quia spei maioris avertendae solatium obiectum cen-
sebant: cur enim relegari plebem in Volscos, quum pul-
cherrima urbs Veii agerque Veientanus in conspectu sit,
6 uberior ampliorque Romano agro? Urbem quoque urbi
Romae vel situ vel magnificentia publicorum privatorumque
7 tectorum ac locorum praeponerant. Quin illa quoque actio
movebatur, quae post captam utique Romam a Gallis cele-
8 bratior fuit, transmigrandi Veios. Ceterum partim plebi,
partim senatui destinabant habitandos Veios, duasque urbes
communis rei publicae incolae a populo Romano posse.

Adversus quae quum optimates ita tenderent, ut morituros 9
se citius dicerent in conspectu populi Romani quam quic-
quam earum rerum rogaretur: quippe nunc in una urbe 10
tantum dissensionum esse; quid in duabus urbibus fore?
victimne ut quisquam victrici patriae praeferret sineretque,
maiores fortunam captis esse Veis, quam incolumibus
fuerit? postremo se relinqui a civibus in patria posse; ut 11
relinquant patriam atque cives, nullam vim unquam subac-
turam, et T. Sicinium (is enim ex tribunis plebis rogationis
eius lator erat) conditorem Veios sequantur, relicto deo
Romulo, dei filio, parente et auctore urbis Romae.

25. Haec quum foedis certaminibus agerentur (nam par-
tem tribunorum plebi patres in suam sententiam traxerant),
nulla res alia manibus temperare plebem cogebat quam quod, 2
ubi rixae committendae causa clamor ortus esset, principes
senatus primi turbae offerentes se peti ferique atque occidi
iuebant. Ab horum aetatibus dignitatibusque et honoribus 3
violandis dum abstinerebatur, et ad reliquos similes conatus
verecundia irae obstabat. Camillus identidem omnibus locis 4
contionabundus: Haud mirum id quidem esse, furere civi-
tatem, quae, damnata voti, omnium rerum potiores curam
quam religione se exsolvendi habeat. Nihil de collatione 5
dicere, stipis verius quam decimae, quando ea se quisque
privatim obligaverit, liberatus sit populus. Enimvero illud 6
se tacere suam conscientiam non pati, quod ex ea tantum
praeda, quae rerum moventium sit, decima designetur; urbis
atque agri capti, quae et ipsa voto contineantur, mentionem
nullam fieri. Quum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, 7
delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo visum collegio,
quod eius ante conceptum votum Veientium fuisset et post
votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, eius partem
decimam Apollini sacram esse. Ita in aestimationem urbs 8
agerque venit. Pecunia ex aerario prompta, et tribunis

militum consularibus, ut aurum ex ea coemerent, negotium datum. Cuius quum copia non esset, matronae, coetibus ad eam rem consultandam habitis, communi decreto pollicitae tribunis militum aurum, [et] omnia ornamenta sua in
9 aerarium detulerunt. Grata ea res ut quae maxime senatui unquam fuit; honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis
10 festo profestoque uterentur. Pondere ab singulis auri accepto aestimato[que], ut pecuniae solverentur, crateram auream fieri placuit, quae donum Apollini Delphos porta-
11 retur. Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, integrant seditionem tribuni plebis; incitatur multitudo in omnes principes,
12 ante alios in Camillum: eum praedam Veientanam publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegissee. Absentes ferociter increpant; praesentium, quum se ultro iratis offerrent,
13 verecundiam habent. Simul extrahi rem ex eo anno viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum eosdem reficiunt; et patres hoc idem de intercessoribus legis annisi; ita tribuni plebis magna ex parte iidem refecti.

26. Comitiiis tribunorum militum patres summa ope evicerunt, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella simulabant parari ducem; sed largitioni tribuniciae adversarius quaerebatur. Cum Camillo creati tribuni militum consulari potestate L. Furius Medullinus sextum, C. Aemilius, L. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Postumius, P. Cornelius iterum.
3 Principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt, donec M. Furius Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum mandatum erat, proficisceretur. Differendo deinde elanguit res, et Camillo, quem adversarium maxime metuebant, gloria in Faliscis
4 crevit. Nam quum primo moenibus se hostes tenerent, tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque incendiis
5 villarum coegit eos egredi urbe. Sed timor longius progredi prohibuit; mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant,

nulla re alia fidentes ea satis tuta esse quam difficultate aditus, asperis confragosisque circa et partim artis, partim arduis viis. Ceterum Camillus, captivum indidem ex agris 6 secutus ducem, castris multa nocte motis, prima luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. Triarii Romani mu- 7 niebant; alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat. Ibi impedire opus conatos hostes fundit fugatque; tantumque inde pavoris Faliscis iniectum est, ut effusa fuga castra sua, quae propiora erant, praelati urbem peterent. Multi caesi 8 vulneratique, priusquam paventes portis inciderent. Castra capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum magna militum ira; sed severitate imperii victi eandem virtutem et oderant et mirabantur. Obsidio inde urbis et munitiones, et inter- 9 dum per occasionem impetus oppidanorum in Romanas stationes proeliaque parva fieri, et teri tempus, neutro inclinata spe, quum frumentum copiaeque aliae ex ante con- 10 vecto largius obsessis quam obsidentibus suppeterent. Videbaturque aequae diuturnus futurus labor, ac Veiis fuisset, ni fortuna imperatori Romano simul et cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis specimen et maturam victoriam dedisset.

27. Mos erat Faliscis eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti, simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quoque in Graecia manet, unius curae demandabantur. Principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui scientia videbatur praeexcellere, erudiebat. Is quum in pace instituisset pueros ante urbem 2 lusus exercendique causa producere, nihil eo more per belli tempus intermisso, [dum] modo brevioribus, modo longioribus spatiis trahendo eos a porta, lusu sermonibusque variatis, longius solito, ubi res dedit, progressus inter stationes eos hostium castraque inde Romana in praetorium ad Camillum perduxit. Ibi scelesto facinori scelestiorem 3 sermonem addit, Falerios se in manus Romanis tradidisse, 4 quando eos pueros, quorum parentes capita ibi rerum sint,

5 in potestatem dediderit. Quae ubi Camillus audivit, 'Non
ad similem' inquit 'tui nec populum nec imperatorem sceles-
6 tus ipse cum scelesto munere venisti. Nobis cum Faliscis,
quae pacto fit humano, societas non est; quam ingeneravit
natura utrisque, est eritque. Sunt et belli, sicut pacis, iura,
7 iusteque ea non minus quam fortiter didicimus gerere. Arma
habemus non adversus eam aetatem, cui etiam captis
urbibus parcur, sed adversus armatos et ipsos, qui, nec
laesi nec lacessiti a nobis, castra Romana ad Veios op-
8 pugnarunt. Eos tu, quantum in te fuit, novo scelere vicisti;
ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis, sicut Veios,
9 vincam.' Denudatum deinde eum, manibus post tergum
illigatis, reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit, virgasque eis,
quibus proditorem agerent in urbem verberantes, dedit.
10 Ad quod spectaculum concursu populi primum facto, deinde
a magistratibus de re nova vocato senatu, tanta mutatio
animis est iniecta, ut, qui modo efferati odio iraque Veientium
exitum paene quam Capenatium pacem mallerent, apud eos
11 pacem universa posceret civitas. Fides Romana, iustitia
imperatoris in foro, in curia celebrantur; consensuque om-
nium legati ad Camillum in castra atque inde permissu
Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios, profi-
12 ciscuntur. Introducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur:
'Patres conscripti, victoria, cui nec deus nec homo quis-
quam invideat, victi a vobis et imperatore vestro dedimus
nos vobis, rati, quo nihil victori pulchrius est, melius nos sub
13 imperio vestro quam legibus nostris victuros. Eventu huius
belli duo salutaria exempla prodita humano generi sunt:
vos fidem in bello quam praesentem victoriam maluistis;
14 nos fide provocati victoriam ultro detulimus. Sub dicione
vestra sumus; mittite, qui arma, qui obsides, qui urbem
15 patentibus portis accipiant. Nec vos fidei nostrae nec nos
imperii vestri paenitebit.' Camillo et ab hostibus et a civibus

gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum eius anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia imperata. Pace data, exercitus Romam reductus.

28. Camillus meliore multo laude, quam quum triumphantem albi per urbem vexerant equi, insignis, iustitia fideque hostibus victis, quum in urbem redisset, taciti eius verecundiam non tulit senatus, quin sine mora voti liberaretur. Crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos legati qui 2 ferrent, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, A. Manlius missi longa una nave, haud procul freto Siculo a piratis Liparensium excepti devehuntur Liparas. Mos erat civitatis velut publico latro- 3 cinio partam praedam dividere. Forte eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis; qui legatorum nomen donumque et deum, cui 4 mitteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse multitudinem quoque, quae semper ferme regenti est similis, religionis iustae implevit, adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos cum praesidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus consulto est 5 factum donaque publice data. Eodem anno in Aequis varie bellatum, adeo ut in incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae, vicissent victine essent. Imperatores Ro- 6 mani fuere ex tribunis militum C. Aemilius, Sp. Postumius. Primo rem communiter gesserunt; fusis inde acie hostibus, Aemilium praesidio Verruginem obtinere placuit, Postumium fines vastare. Ibi eum incomposito agmine negligentius ab re 7 bene gesta euntem adorti Aequi, terrore iniecto, in proximos compulere tumulos; pavorque inde Verruginem etiam ad praesidium alterum est perlatus. Postumius, suis in tutum 8 receptis, quum contione advocata terrorem increparet ac fugam, fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo hoste, conclamat universus exercitus, merito se ea audire et fateri admissum flagitium, sed eosdem correcturos esse, neque

9 diuturnum id gaudium hostibus fore. Poscentes, ut confestim inde ad castra hostium duceret (et in conspectu erant, posita in plano), nihil poenae recusabant, ni ea ante noctem
10 expugnassent. Collaudatos corpora curare paratosque esse quarta vigilia iubet. Et hostes, nocturnam fugam ex tumultu Romanorum ut ab ea via, quae ferebat Verruginem, excluderent, fuere obvii; proeliumque ante lucem (sed luna pernox erat) commissum est. [Et] haud incertius diurno
11 proelium fuit; sed clamor Verruginem perlatus, quum castra Romana crederent oppugnari, tantum iniecit pavoris, ut, nequicquam retinente atque obsecrante Aemilio, Tusculum
12 palati fugerent. Inde fama Romam perlata est, Postumium exercitumque occisum. Qui, ubi prima lux metum insidiarum effuse sequentibus sustulit, quum perequasset aciem promissa repetens, tantum iniecit ardoris, ut non ultra
13 sustinuerint impetum Aequi. Caedes inde fugientium, qualis ubi ira magis quam virtute res geritur, ad perniciem hostium facta est; tristemque ab Tusculo nuntium, nequicquam exterrita civitate, litterae a Postumio laureatae sequuntur, victoriam populi Romani esse, Aequorum exercitum deletum.

29. Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum et patres reficere intercessores legis annisi sunt; sed plus suis
2 comitiis plebs valuit; quem doloremulti patres sunt senatus consulto facto, ut consules, invisus plebi magistratus, crearentur. Annum post quintum decimum creati consules L.
3 Lucretius Flavus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Principio huius anni ferociter, quia nemo ex collegio intercessurus erat, coortis ad perferendam legem tribunis plebis, nec segnius ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus, omnique civitate in unam eam curam conversa, Vitelliam coloniam Romanam
4 in suo agro Aequi expugnant. Colonorum pars maxima

incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfugere. L. 5
Lucretio consuli ea provincia evenit. Is cum exercitu profectus acie hostes vincit, victorque Romam ad maius aliquanto certamen redit. Dies dicta erat tribunis plebis biennii 6
superioris A. Verginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi patrum consensu ad fidem senatus pertinebat; neque enim eos aut vitae ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratus quisquam arguebat, praeterquam quod gratificantes patribus rogationi tribuniciae intercessissent. Vicit tamen gratiam senatus plebis 7
ira, et pessimo exemplo innoxii denis millibus gravis aeris condemnati sunt. Id aegre passi patres. Camillus palam 8
sceleris plebem arguere, quae iam in suos versa non intelligeret, se pravo iudicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse, intercessione sublata tribuniciam potestatem evertisse. Nam 9
quod illi sperarent, effrenatam licentiam eius magistratus patres laturos, falli eos. Si tribunicia vis tribunicio auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum patres inventuros esse. Consul- 10
esque increpabat, quod fide publica decipi tribunos eos tacitulis-
sent, qui senatus auctoritatem secuti essent. Haec propalam contionabundus in dies magis augebat iras hominum.

30. Senatum vero incitare adversus legem haud desistebat: ne aliter descenderent in forum, quum dies ferendae legis venisset, quam ut qui meminissent, sibi pro aris focusque et deum templis ac solo, in quo nati essent, dimicandum fore. Nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si suae gloriae 2
sibi inter dimicationem patriae meminisse sit fas, sibi amplum quoque esse, urbem ab se captam frequentari, quotidie se frui monumento gloriae suae et ante oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo, insistere omnes vestigiis laudum suarum; sed nefas ducere, desertam ac relictam ab 3
dis immortalibus incolis urbem, et in captivo solo habitare

4 populum Romanum, et victrice patria victam mutari. His
adhortationibus principis concitati patres, senes iuvenesque,
quum ferretur lex, agmine facto in forum venerunt, dissipa-
patique per tribus, suos quisque tribules prensantes, orare
5 cum lacrimis coepere, ne eam patriam, pro qua fortissime
felicissimeque ipsi ac patres eorum dimicassent, desererent,
Capitolium, aedem Vestae, cetera circa templa deorum os-
6 tentantes; ne exsulem, extorrem populum Romanum ab
solo patrio ac diis penetibus in hostium urbem agerent,
eoque rem adducerent, ut melius fuerit non capi Veios, ne
7 Roma desereretur. Quia non vi agebant, sed precibus, et
inter preces multa deorum mentio erat, religiosum parti
maximae fuit, et legem una plures tribus antiquarunt quam
8 iusserunt. Adeoque ea victoria laeta patribus fuit, ut postero
die referentibus consulibus senatus consultum fieret, ut agri
Veientani septena iugera plebi dividerentur, nec patribus
familiae tantum, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum capitum
ratio haberetur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.

31. Eo munere delenita plebe, nihil certatum est, quo
2 minus consularia comitia haberentur. Creati consules L.
Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea fuit
cognomen. Hi consules magnos ludos facere, quos M.
3 Furius dictator voverat Veienti bello. Eodem anno aedes
Iunonis reginae ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota
dedicatur, celebratamque dedicationem ingenti matronarum
4 studio tradunt. Bellum haud memorabile in Algidio cum
Aequis gestum est, fuis hostibus prius paene, quam manus
consererent. Valerio, quod perseverantior caedendi in fuga
fuit, triumphus, Manlio, ut ovans ingrederetur urbem, de-
5 cretum est. Eodem anno novum bellum cum Vulsiniensibus
exortum; quo propter famem pestilentiamque in agro Ro-
mano ex siccitate caloribusque nimis ortam exercitus duci
nequivit. Ob quae Vulsinienses, Salpinatibus adiunctis,

superbia inflati ultro agros Romanos incursavere; bellum inde duobus populis indictum. C. Iulius censor decessit; 6 in eius locum M. Cornelius suffectus, quae res postea religioni fuit, quia eo lustrum Roma est capta; nec deinde unquam in demortui locum censor sufficitur. Consulibusque morbo implicitis, placuit per interregnum renovari auspicia. Itaque quum ex senatus consulto consules magistratu se 8 abdicassent, interrex creatur M. Furius Camillus, qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is deinde L. Valerium Potitum interregem prodidit. Ab eo creati sex tribuni militum consulari 9 potestate, ut, etiamsi cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum rei publicae esset.

32. Calendis Quintilibus magistratum occepere L. Lucretius, Ser. Sulpicius, M. Aemilius, L. Furius Medullinus septimum, Agrippa Furius, C. Aemilius iterum. Ex his L. 2 Lucretio et C. Aemilio Vulsinienses provincia evenit, Salpinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. Prius cum Vulsiniensibus pugnatum est. Bellum numero hostium ingens, 3 certamine haud sane asperum fuit. Fusa primo concursu acies; in fugam versa millia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa, positis armis, in deditionem venerunt. Eius belli 4 fama effecit, ne se pugnae committerent Salpinates; moenibus armati se tutabantur. Romani praedas passim et ex Salpinati agro et ex Vulsiniensi, nullo eam vim arcente, 5 egerunt, donec Vulsiniensibus fessis bello ea condicione, ut res populo Romano redderent stipendiumque eius anni exercitui praestarent, in viginti annos indutiae datae. Eodem 6 anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis, se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet, Gallos adventare. Id, ut fit, propter auctoris humi- 7 litatem spreum et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita ingruente fato spreta, sed

humanam quoque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe
8 amovere. Qui, die dicta ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis
propter praedam Veientanam, filio quoque adolescente per
idem tempus orbatus, quum, accitis domum tribulibus et
clientibus, quae magna pars plebis erat, percontatus animos
eorum responsum tulisset, se collaturos, quanti damnatus
9 esset, absolvere eum non posse, in exilium abiit, precatus
ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio sibi ea iniuria fieret, primo
quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratae facerent.
Absens quindecim millibus gravis aeris damnatur.

33. Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum
certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi
clade, legati ab Clusinis veniunt, auxilium adversus Gallos
2 petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum
maximeque vini, nova tum voluptate, captam Alpes transisse
3 agrosque ab Etruscis ante cultos possedisse; [et] invexisse in
Galliam vinum illiciendae gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum
ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor ipse fuerat,
praepotente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa vis
4 quaesita esset, nequirent; hunc transeuntibus Alpes ducem
auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse. Equidem haud
abnuerim, Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte seu quo alio Clusino
5 adductos; sed eos, qui oppugnaverint Clusium, non fuisse,
qui primi Alpes transierint, satis constat. Ducentis quippe
annis ante, quam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam
6 caperent, in Italiam Galli transcenderunt; nec cum his pri-
mum Etruscorum, sed multo ante cum iis, qui inter Appen-
ninum Alpesque incolebant, saepe exercitus Gallici pugnare.
7 Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes
patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo
8 cingitur, quantum potuerint, nomina sunt argumento, quod
alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Atriatum
mare ab Atria, Tuscorum colonia, vocavere Italicae gentes,

Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriaticum vocant. Ei 9
in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis
terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans
Appenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant, coloniis 10
missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum
angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes
tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo 11
est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid
ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum,
retinerent.

34. De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus:
Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante, Celtarum, quae pars
Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ii
regem Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque 2
quum sua, tum publica praepollens, quod in imperio eius
Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans
multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magno natu ipse iam, 3
exonerare praegravante turba regnum cupiens, Bellovesum
ac Segovesum, sororis filios, impigros iuvenes, missurum se
esse, in quas dii dedissent auguriis sedes, ostendit: quantum 4
ipsi vellent, numerum hominum excirent, ne qua gens arcere
advenientes posset. Tum Segoveso sortibus dati Hercynii
saltus; Belloveso haud paulo laetiores in Italiam viam di
dabant. Is, quod e sex populis abundabat, Bituriges, Ar- 5
vernus, Aeduus, Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos excivit. Pro-
fectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos
venit. Alpes inde oppositae erant; quas inexcuperabiles visas 6
haud equidem miror, nulladum via, quod quidem continens
memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.
Ibi quum velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, 7
circumspectarentque, quamam per iuncta caelo iuga in alium
orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit, quod allatum
est, advenas quaerentes agrum ab Salyum gente oppugnari.

8 Massilienses erant ii, navibus a Phocaea profecti. Id Galli
fortunae suae omen rati, adiuvere, ut, quem primum in terram
egressi occupaverant locum, patientibus Salyis, communirent.
Ipsi per Taurinos saltusque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt;
9 fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine, quum, in
quo consederant, agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cog-
nominem Insubribus, pago Aeduorum, ibi omen sequentes
loci condidere urbem; Mediolanium appellarunt.

35. Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum Etitovio duce
vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso,
quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes
2 sunt, locos tenuere. Libui considunt post hos Salluviique,
propter antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures incolentes circa
Ticinum amnem. Poenino deinde Boii Lingonesque trans-
gressi, quum iam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur,
Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos modo, sed etiam Umbros
3 agro pellunt; intra Appenninum tamen sese tenere. Tum
Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad
Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium Romanque
inde venisse comperio; id parum certum est, solamne an
4 ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adiutam. Clusini
novo bello exterriti, quum multitudinem, quum formas homi-
num invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirentque,
saepe ab iis cis Padum ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas,
quanquam adversus Romanos nullum eis ius societatis ami-
citiaeve erat, nisi quod Veientes consanguineos adversus
populum Romanum non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui
5 auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil im-
petratum; legati tres M. Fabii Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus
populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a quibus
nullam iniuriam acceperant, socios populi Romani atque
6 amicos oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quoque, si res
cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum, bellum ipsum amo-

veri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.

36. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus, postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum, etsi 2 novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere, viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit imploratum; et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam 3 armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem, quam illi afferant, aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis acci- 4 pere velle et, si negetur ager, coram iisdem Romanis dimicatos, ut nuntiare domum possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent. Quodnam id ius esset, agrum 5 a possessoribus petere aut minari arma, Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset, quum illi, se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse, ferociter dicerent, accensis utrinque animis ad arma discurritur et proelium conseritur. Ibi, iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis, legati 6 contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit, quum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evectus extra aciem equo 7 ducem Gallorum, ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incurstantem, per latus transfixum hasta occidit, spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem, Romanum legatum esse, signum datum est. Omissa inde in Clusinos 8 ira, receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant, qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque, ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum 9 quum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec

factum placebat Fabiorum et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne id, quod placebat, decerneret in tantae
10 nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset cladis, *si* forte, Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere, ut, quorum de poena agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem
11 annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus, quam dignum erat, infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

37. Quum tanta moles mali instaret (adeo occaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult), civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia dictatorem
2 multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum
3 ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem, quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam
4 belli, habebant. Interim Galli, postquam acceper, ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantem ira, cuius impotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis, citato agmine iter ingrediuntur.
5 Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum quum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant, quacunque ibant, equis virisque longe ac late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci.
6 Sed antecedente fama nuntiisque Clusinatorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas
7 hostium tulit, quippe quibus velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen

Alia, Crustumini montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia 8 contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

38. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato nec litato, instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen aequari frontes poterant, quum 2 extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleti placuit, eaque res ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gal- 3 lorum, in paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos 4 loco depulisset, haud dubius, facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam fore. Adeo non fortuna modo, sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil 5 simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaeque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo maior pars Veios in hostium urbem, quum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua 6 acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent, non modo non tentato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito, integri intactique fugerunt; nec ulla caedes pugnantium 7 fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in turba impudentium fugam. Circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis 8 totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est,

multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves lorice aliis-
9 que tegminibus, hausere gurgites; maxima tamen pars in-
columis Veios perfugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam,
10 sed ne nuntius quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab
dextro cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte
steterat, Romam omnes petiere et, ne clausis quidem portis
urbis, in arcem confugerunt.

39. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum vic-
toriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum
steterunt, velut ignari, quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri;
postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut
2 mos eis est, coacervare; tum demum, postquam nihil us-
quam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante
solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi quum
praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro
portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud
3 priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et
ignotae situm urbis, inter Romam atque Anienem consedere,
exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas, quaenam
4 hostibus in perdita re consilia essent. Romani, quum pars
maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse
quemquam praeter eos, qui Romam refugerant, crederet,
complorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique totam prope urbem
5 lamentis impleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit pub-
licus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox
ululatus cantusque dissonos, vagantibus circa moenia tur-
6 matim barbaris, audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita
tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem iam in
urbem futurus videretur impetus: primo adventus, quia
accesserant ad urbem; mansuros enim ad Aliam fuisse, nisi
7 hoc consilii foret; deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud
multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati se invasuros; tum
in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent;

postremo lux appropinquans exanimare; timorique perpetuo 8
ipsum malum continens fuit, quum signa infesta portis sunt
illata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die
similis illi, quae ad Aliam tam pavidè fugerat, civitas fuit.
Nam quum defendi urbem posse tam parva relictà manu 9
spes nulla esset, placuit, cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventu-
tem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque
concedere, armisque et frumento collato, ex loco inde munito 10
deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere; [flami- 11
nem] sacerdotesque et Vestales sacra publica à caede, ab in-
cendiis procul auferre, nec ante deserì cultum deorum, quam
non superessent, qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes 12
deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris iuventus
superfuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse
seniorum relictæ in urbe utique periturae turbae. Et quo id 13
aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales
consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros, nec
his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam
possent, oneratos inopiam armatorum.

40. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata solatia.
Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum, quos in
Capitolium atque in arcem prosequébantur, commendantes
virtuti eorum iuventutis urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos
omnibus bellis victricis, quaecunque reliqua esset fortuna.
Digredientibus, qui spem omnem atque opem secum fere- 2
bant, ab iis, qui captae urbis non superesse statuerant exitio,
quum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris 3
fletus et concursatio incerta nunc hos, nunc illos sequentium
rogitantiumque viros natosque, cui se fato darent, nihil,
quod humani superesset mali, relinquebant. Magna pars 4
tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt, nec prohibente
ullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam
imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia 5

maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis
nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa
6 velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum. Inde pars per agros
dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut con-
sensu, suam quisque spem, sua consilia, communibus de-
7 ploratis, sequentes. Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque
Vestales, omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum
ferenda, quae, quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relin-
quenda essent, consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli asser-
8 vaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in dolio-
lis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc
despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito
9 ferunt via, quae sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum. In eo
clivo eas quum L. Albinus, de plebe Romana homo, con-
spexisset, plaustrum coniugem ac liberos vehens inter ceteram
10 turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum
discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, religiosum ratus,
sacerdotes publicos sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire
ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem
ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum imposuit et
Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

41. Romae interim, satis iam omnibus, ut in tali re, ad
tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos regressi
adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo expectabant.
2 Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae
pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae
augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusve,
3 ea vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt, qui
M. Folio pontifice maximo praeunte carmen devovisse eos
4 se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant. Galli, et quia
interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos
et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec
tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore

animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta, in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde, modico 5 relicto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursum hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt; inde rursus ipsa solitudine absterriti, ne qua fraus hostilis 6 vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati redibant; ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis 7 principum, maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur 8 in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros, praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat, simillimos dis. Ad eos 9 velut simulacra versi quum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse, atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post principum caedem nulli deinde mortalium 10 parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis iniici ignes.

42. Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari 2 tecta, ut, quodcunque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque 3 per vias omnes cursus, quum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum consipere, sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant. Quo- 4 cunque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus,

sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius
5 rerum suarum relictis praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis, qui unquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in
6 hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum exceperat; lux deinde noctem inquieta insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper cladis alicuius
7 spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tene-
8 bant, collem libertati relictum virtute defenderent; et iam, quum eadem quotidie acciderent, velut assueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

43. Galli quoque, per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequicquam bello gesto, quum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, nequicquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem animos, ne vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere
2 in arcem statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito, scandere hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per proclive
3 facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere; atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto strage ea ac ruina fudere Gallos, ut nunquam postea
4 nec pars nec universi tentaverint tale pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi, obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus immemores et, quod in urbe fuerat

frumentum, incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsidere arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent. Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat, duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna publica quam sua, quum diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque, ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella fortius semper quam felicius gessissent, repente audit, Gallorum exercitum adventare atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus, quum se in mediam contionem intulisset, abstinere suetus ante talibus conciliis;

44. 'Ardeates' inquit, 'veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc egit mea; nemo vestrum condicionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac periculum commune cogit, quod quisque possit, in re trepida praesidii in medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti, et invictus bello in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi meministis (nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt), gratiae referendae et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pariendi, qui effuso agmine adventat. Gens est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana: patentem cepere urbem; ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu; iam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros palantur. Cibo vinoque raptim

hausto repleti, ubi nox appetit, prope rivos aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito in-
7 cauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, prima vigilia capite arma frequentesque me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi victos somno velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum exitum, quem Romae habui.'

45. Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat, tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Contione dimissa, corpora curant, intenti, quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto fuere.
2 Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti
3 clamore invadunt. Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset, ignaros in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati, incursione ab
4 oppidanis in palatos facta circumveniuntur. Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages est, qui urbis iam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinae, oppressae ab hoste in-visitato, inaudito, adeo nihil miseriti sunt, ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent, plenique praedae Veios etiam, praesidiumque et spem ultimam Romani no-
5 minis, in animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani vagantes per agros et congregatos agmine, praedam prae se agentes, et castra cernebant haud procul Veis posita.
6 Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit: Etruscisne etiam, a quibus bellum Gallicum in
7 se avertissent, ludibrio esse clades suas? Vix temperavere animis, quin extemplo impetum facerent; compressi a Q. Caedicio centurione, quem sibimet ipsi praefecerant, rem in

noctem sustinuerunt. Tantum par Camillo defuit auctor; cetera 8
eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin etiam
ducibus captivis, qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant, ad aliam
manum Tuscorum ad Salinas profecti, nocte insequente ex
improviso maiorem caedem edidere, duplicique victoria
ovantes Veios redeunt.

46. Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrinque
silentium esse, ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium
evadere inter stationes posset, quum repente iuvenis Ro-
manus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacri- 2
ficio erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. Ad id
faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo, Gabino cinctu, sacra manibus
gerens, quum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium
stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve
motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit; ibique omnibus sol- 3
lemniter peractis, eadem revertens similiter constanti vultu
graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos, quorum cultum
ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium
ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu
religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam negligens gens
est. Veiis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires 4
crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris,
qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant,
sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte
praedae essent, maturum iam videbatur, repeti patriam eri- 5
pique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat.
Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui 6
ductu auspicioque eius res prospere gesserant; et Caedicius
negare, se commissurum, cur sibi aut deorum aut hominum
quisquam imperium finiret potius, quam ipse memor ordinis
sui posceret imperatorem. Consensu omnium placuit, ab 7
Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae
esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor discriminaque rerum prope

8 perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per
hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius
impiger iuvenis operam pollicitus, incubans cortici secundo
9 Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa,
per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in
Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus mandata exerci-
10 tus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis
revocatus de exsilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo
diceretur, militesque haberent imperatorem, quem vellent,
11 eadem degressus nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ardeam
legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu (quod magis
credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea, quam com-
pererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus
posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere)
lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

47. Dum haec Veiis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capi-
2 tulumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu ves-
tigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veiis pervenerat, seu sua
sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo adscensu aequo,
nocte sublustri, quum primo inermem, qui tentaret viam,
praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset,
alterni innixi sublevantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios,
3 prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut
non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, solli-
4 citum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres
non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi
tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore
eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio
ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis, simul
ad arma ceteros ciens vadit et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum,
qui iam in summo constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat.
5 Cuius casus prolapsi quum proximos sterneret, trepidantes
alios armisque omissis saxa, quibus adhaerebant, manibus

amplexos trucidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, 6 quantum turbatis mentibus poterat, quum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum est. Luce orta, vocatis 7 classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, quum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum militum, sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et 8 quartarios vini ad aedes eius, quae in arce erant, contulerunt, rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, quum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci, qua fefellerat adscendens 9 hostis, citati; et quum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum, in unum vigilem coniicientium culpam, deterritus a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae, approbantibus cunctis, de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrinque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat, inter Veios Romanque nuntios commeari, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

48. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala fames utrumque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, quum loco 2 iacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque, non pulverem modo ferente, quum quid venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens humorique ac frigori assueta quum aestu et angore vexata vulgatis velut in pecua morbis moreretur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant, bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Indutiae deinde cum Romanis factae 4 et colloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus quum

identidem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad dedicationem vocarent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed iam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veiis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque, quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, interim Capitolinus exercitus, stationibus vigiliisque fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis, quum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret, postremo spe quoque iam, non solum cibo deficiente et, quum stationes procederent, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis, vel dedi vel redimi se, quacunque pactione possent, iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis, haud magna mercede se adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum colloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est: pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua et, tribuno recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox, vae victis [esse].

49. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro appenso, dictator intervenit, auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos summoveri iubet. Quum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum coniicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non auro recuperare patriam iubet, in con-

spectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura 4 patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia, quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praeparare poterant, providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt 5 iraque magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt, quam ad Aliam vicerant. Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina 6 via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator, re- 7 cuperata ex hostibus patria, triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur. Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace 8 haud dubie servavit, quum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non 9 abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante, ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu.

50. Omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad deos immortales pertinebant, rettulit et senatus consultum facit, fana omnia, quod ea hostis posse- 2 disset, restituerentur, terminarentur expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaereretur; cum 3 Caeretibus hospitium publice fieret, quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset; ludi Capi- 4 tolini fierent, quod Iuppiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque arcem populi Romani in re trepida tutatus esset;

collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex
5 eis, qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent. Expiandae etiam
votis nocturnae, quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum
audita neglectaque esset, mentio illata, iussumque templum
6 in Nova via Aio Locutio fieri. Aurum, quod Gallis ereptum
erat quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Iovis
cellam collatum, quum, quo referri oporteret, confusa me-
moriam esset, sacrum omne iudicatum et sub Iovis sella poni
7 iussum. Iam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quod,
quum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pactae
mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant,
ut sacro auro abstineretur. Matronis gratiae actae, honosque
additus, ut earum sicut virorum post mortem sollemnis lau-
8 datio esset. His peractis, quae ad deos pertinebant quaeque
per senatum agi poterant, tum demum, agitantibus tribunis
plebem assiduis contionibus, ut relictis ruinis in urbem
paratam Veios transmigrarent, in contionem universo senatu
prosequente escendit, atque ita verba fecit.

51. 'Adeo mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum
tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsili solatium aliud ha-
buerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quam quod procul ab his certa-
minibus eram, et ob eadem haec non, si millies senati
consulto populi iussu revocaretis, rediturus unquam
2 fuerim. Nec nunc me, ut redirem, mea voluntas mutata,
sed vestra fortuna perpulit; quippe, ut in sua sede maneret
patria, id agebatur, non ut ego utique in patria essem.
Et nunc quiescerem ac tacerem libenter, nisi haec quoque
pro patria dimicatio esset; cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat,
3 aliis turpe, Camillo etiam nefas est. Quid enim repetimus,
quid obsessam ex hostium manibus eripimus, si recuperatam
ipsi deserimus? Et quum, victoribus Gallis, capta tota urbe,
Capitolium tamen atque arcem diique et homines Romani
tenuerint et habitaverint, victoribus Romanis, recuperata urbe,

arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur, et plus vastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet, quam adversa fecit? Equidem, si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per 4 manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen hac tempestate rebus affuit Romanis, ut omnem negligentiam divini cultus exemptam hominibus putem. Intuemini enim 5 horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel adversas; invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus. Iam omnium primum Veiens bellum—per 6 quot annos, quanto labore gestum!—non ante cepit finem, quam monitu deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est. Quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades nova? num ante 7 exorta est, quam spreta vox caelo emissa de adventu Gallorum, quam gentium ius ab legatis nostris violatum, quam a nobis, quum vindicari deberet, eadem negligentia deorum praetermissum? Igitur victi captique ac redempti tantum 8 poenarum dis hominibusque dedimus, ut terrarum orbi documento essemus. Adversae deinde res admonuerunt religionum. Confugimus in Capitolium ad deos, ad sedem Iovis 9 optimi maximi; sacra in ruina rerum nostrarum alia terra celavimus, alia avecta in finitimas urbes amovimus ab hostium oculis; deorum cultum, deserti ab diis hominibusque, tamen non intermisimus. Reddidere igitur patriam et 10 victoriam et antiquum belli decus amissum, et in hostes, qui caeci avaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem.

52. Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta momenta in rebus humanis cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quantum vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpa cladisque emergentes paremus nefas? Urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam 2 habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis statim quam loca sunt, in quibus fiant. Hos omnes deos publicos 3

privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis? Quam par vestrum factum *et* est, quod in obsidione nuper in egregio adolescente, C. Fabio, non minore hostium admiratione quam vestra conspectum est, quum inter Gallica tela degressus ex arce
4 sollemne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali obiit? An gentilia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitti, publica sacra et Romanos deos etiam in pace deserui placet, et pontifices flaminesque negligentiores publicarum religionum esse, quam
5 privatus in sollemni gentis fuerit? Forsitan aliquis dicat, aut Veiis ea nos facturos aut huc inde missuros sacerdotes nostros, qui faciant; quorum neutrum fieri salvis caerimoniis
6 potest. Et ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque percenseam deos, in Iovis epulo num alibi quam in Capitolio
7 pulvinar suscipi potest? Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque, quod imperii pignus custodia eius templi tenetur, loquar? quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive tuque, Quirine pater? Haec omnia in profano deserui placet sacra,
8 aequalia urbi, quaedam vetustiora origine urbis? Et videte, quid inter nos ac maiores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano Laviniique nobis facienda tradiderunt. An ex hostium urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum fuit, hinc sine piaculo in hostium urbem Veios
9 transferemus? Recordamini, agite dum, quoties sacra instaurentur, quia aliquid ex patrio ritu negligentia casuve praetermissum est. Modo quae res post prodigium Albani lacus nisi instauratio sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio
10 affectae Veienti bello rei publicae remedio fuit? At etiam, tanquam veterum religionum memores, et peregrinos deos transulimus Romam et instituimus novos. Iuno regina transvecta a Veiis nuper in Aventino quam insigni ob excellens matronarum studium celebrique dedicata est die!
11 Aio Locutio templum propter caelestem vocem exauditam in Nova via iussimus fieri; Capitolinos ludos sollemnibus

aliis addidimus, collegiumque ad id novum auctore senatu
 condidimus; quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si una cum Gallis 12
 urbem Romanam relicturi fuimus, si non voluntate man-
 simus in Capitolio per tot menses obsidionis, sed ab hostibus
 metu retenti sumus? De sacris loquimur et de templis; 13
 quid tandem de sacerdotibus nonne in mentem venit, quan-
 tum piaculi committatur? Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes
 est, ex qua eas nihil unquam praeterquam urbs capta
 movit; flameni Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem
 nefas est. Hos Veientes pro Romanis facturi estis sacerdotes, 14
 et Vestales tuae te deserent, Vesta, et flamen peregre habi-
 tando in singulas noctes tantum sibi rei publicae piaculi
 contrahet? Quid alia, quae auspicato agimus omnia fere 15
 intra pomoerium, cui oblivioni aut cui negligentiae damus?
 Comititia curiata, quae rem militarem continent, comitia 16
 centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis, ubi
 auspicato, nisi ubi assolent, fieri possunt? Veiosne haec trans- 17
 feremus? an comitiorum causa populus tanto incommodo
 in desertam hanc ab dis hominibusque urbem conveniet?’

53. ‘At enim apparet quidem *pollui* omnia nec ullis pia-
 culis expiari posse; sed res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis
 ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra omnia Veios
 migrare nec hic aedificando inopem plebem vexare. Hanc 2
 autem iactari magis causam quam veram esse, ut ego non
 dicam, apparere vobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis, ante
 Gallorum adventum, salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante
 incolumi urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse, ut Veios trans-
 migraremus. Et videte, quantum inter meam sententiam 3
 vestramque intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum
 non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis; ego contra (nec
 id mirati sitis, priusquam, quale sit, audieritis), etiamsi tum
 migrandum fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas re-
 linquendas non censerem. Quippe tum causa nobis in 4

urbem captam migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris; nunc haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis, 5 Galli gloriosa est. Non enim reliquisse victores, sed amisisse victi patriam videbimur: hoc ad Aliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitatis imposuisse, ut desereremus penates nostros exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco conscisceremus, quem tueri non possemus. Et Galli evertere potuerunt Romam, Romani restituere non 6 videbuntur potuisse? Quid restat nisi ut, si iam novis copiis veniant (constat enim, vix credibilem multitudinem esse) et habitare in capta ab se, deserta a vobis hac urbe velint, 7 sinatis? Quid? si non Galli hoc, sed veteres hostes vestri, Aequi Volscive, faciant, ut commigrent Romam, velitisne, illos Romanos, vos Veientes esse? an malitis hanc solitudinem vestram quam urbem hostium esse? Non equidem video, quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelera, quia piget aedificare, haec dedecora pati parati estis? Si tota urbe nullum melius ampliusve tectum fieri possit, quam casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis ritu pastorum agrestiumque habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque nostros quam 9 exsulatum publice ire? Maiores nostri, convenae pastoresque, quum in his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificaverunt; nos, Capitolio, arce incolumi, stantibus templis deorum, aedificare incensa piget? et, quod singuli facturi fuimus, si aedes nostrae deflagrasset, hoc in publico incendio universi recusamus facere?

54. Quid tandem? si fraude, si casu Veis incendium ortum sit, ventoque, ut fieri potest, diffusa flamma magnam partem urbis absumat, Fidenas inde aut Gabios aliamve quam urbem 2 quaesituri sumus, quo transmigremus? Adeo nihil tenet solum patriae nec haec terra, quam matrem appellamus, sed 3 in superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet? Equidem (fatebor vobis, etsi minus iniuriae vestrae quam [meae]

calamitatis meminisse iuvat) quum abessem, quotiescunque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles campique et Tiberis et assueta oculis regio et hoc caelum, sub quo natus educatusque essem; quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potius caritate sua, ut maneatis in sede vestra, quam postea, quum reliqueritis eam, macerent desiderio. Non 4 sine causa dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam. Ad incrementum urbis natum unice 5 esse locum, argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. Trecentessimus sexagesimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot veterrimos populos tam diu bella geritis, quum interea, ne singulas loquar urbes, non coniuncti cum Aequis Volsci, tot tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria, tantum terra marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens Italiae, bello vobis par est. Quod 6 quum ita sit, quae, malum, ratio est † expertis alia experiri, quum, iam ut virtus vestra transire alio possit, fortuna certe loci huius transferri non possit? Hic Capitolium est, ubi 7 quondam capite humano invento responsum est, eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore; hic, quum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuventas Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum moveri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dii.'

55. Movisse Camillus quum alia oratione, tum ea, quae ad religiones pertinebat, maxime dicitur; sed rem dubiam decrevit vox opportune emissa, quod, quum senatus post paulo de his rebus in curia Hostilia haberetur, cohortesque ex praesidiis revertentes forte agmine forum transirent,

2 centurio in comitio exclamavit: 'Signifer, statue signum;
hic manebimus optime.' Qua voce audita, et senatus ac-
cipere se omen ex curia egressus conclamavit, et plebs
circumfusa approbavit. Antiquata deinde lege, promiscue
3 urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publice praebita est; saxi
materiaeque caedendae, unde quisque vellet, ius factum,
4 praedibus acceptis, eo anno aedificia perfecturos. Festinatio
curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui alienique
5 discrimine, in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa, ut veteres
cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim
subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam
divisae similis.

LIBER VI.

1. QUAE ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem
Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dicta-
toribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris
bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui, res quum 2
vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo
loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tem-
pora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum ges-
tarum, et quod, etiamsi quae in commentariis pontificum
aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe
pleraeque interiire. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab se- 3
cunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae
urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponuntur. Ceterum primo, 4
quo adminiculo erecta erat, eodem innixa, M. Furio principe,
stetit, neque eum abdicare se dictatura nisi anno circumacto
passi sunt. Comitia in insequentem annum tribunos habere, 5
quorum in magistratu capta urbs esset, non placuit; res ad
interregnum rediit. Quum civitas in opere ac labore as- 6
siduo reficiendae urbis teneretur, interim Q. Fabio, simul
primum magistratu abiit, ab Cn. Marcio tribuno plebis dicta
dies est, quod [legatus] in Gallos, ad quos missus erat orator,
contra ius gentium pugnasset; cui iudicio eum mors adeo 7
opportuna, ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit.
Interregnum initum; P. Cornelius Scipio interrex, et post 8
eum M. Furius Camillus. Is tribunos militum consulari
potestate creat L. Valerium Publicolam iterum, L. Verginium,

9 P. Cornelium, A. Manlium, L. Aemilium, L. Postumium. Hi
ex interregno quum extemplo magistratum inissent, nulla de
10 re prius quam de religionibus senatum consulere. In primis
foedera ac leges (erant autem eae duodecim tabulae et quaedam
regiae leges) conquiri, quae comparerent, iusserunt;
alia ex eis edita etiam in vulgus; quae autem ad sacra
pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime, ut religione obstrictos
11 haberent multitudinis animos, suppressa. Tum de diebus
religiosis agitari coeptum, diemque a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles,
duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi,
quo deinde ad Aliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a
posteriore clade Aliensem appellarunt, insignemque rei nulli
12 publice privatimque agenda fecerunt. Quidam, quod postridie
idus Quintiles non litasset Sulpicius tribunus militum,
neque inventa pace deum post diem tertium obiectus hosti
exercitus Romanus esset, etiam postridie idus rebus divinis
supersederi iussum, inde, ut postridie calendas quoque ac
nonas eadem religio esset, traditum putant.

2. Nec diu licuit quietis consilia erigendae ex tam gravi
2 casu rei publicae secum agitare. Hinc Volsci, veteres hostes,
ad exstinguendum nomen Romanum arma ceperant; hinc
Etruriae principum ex omnibus populis coniurationem de
bello ad fanum Voltumnae factam mercatores afferebant.
3 Novus quoque terror accesserat defectionis Latinorum Her-
nicorumque, qui post pugnam ad lacum Regillum factam per
annos prope centum nunquam ambigua fide in amicitia
4 populi Romani fuerant. Itaque quum tanti undique terrores
circumstarent appareretque omnibus, non odio solum apud
hostes, sed contemptu etiam inter socios nomen Romanum
5 laborare, placuit, eisdem auspiciis defendi rem publicam,
quibus recuperata esset, dictatoremque dici M. Furium Cam-
6 illum. Is dictator C. Servilium Aham magistrum equitum
dixit; iustitioque indicto dilectum iuniorum habuit, ita ut

seniores quoque, quibus aliquid roboris superesset, in verba sua iuratos centuriaret. Exercitum conscriptum armatumque 7 trifariam divisit. Partem unam in agro Veiente Etruriae opposuit, alteram ante urbem castra locare iussit; tribuni militum his A. Manlius, illis, qui adversus Etruscos mitte- 8 bantur, L. Aemilius praepositus. Tertiam partem ipse ad Volscos duxit, nec procul a Lanuvio (ad Mecium is locus dicitur) castra oppugnare est adortus. Quibus ab con- 9 temptu, quod prope omnem deletam a Gallis Romanam iuventutem crederent, ad bellum profectis tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulerat, ut vallo se ipsi, vallum congestis arboribus saepirent, ne qua intrare ad munimenta hostis posset. Quod ubi animadvertit Camillus, ignem in 10 obiectam saepem coniici iussit; et forte erat vis magna venti versa in hostem; itaque non aperuit solum incendio viam, 11 sed, flammis in castra tendentibus, vapore etiam ac fumo crepituque viridis materiae flagrantis ita consternavit hostes, ut minor moles superantibus vallum in castra Volscorum Romanis fuerit, quam transcendentibus saepem incendio absumptam fuerat. Fuis hostibus caesisque quum castra 12 impetu cepisset dictator, praedam militi dedit, quo minus speratam minime largitore duce, eo militi gratiorem. Perse- 13 cutus deinde fugientes, quum omnem Volscum agrum depopulatus esset, ad deditionem Volscos septuagesimo demum anno subegit. Victor ex Volscis in Aequos transiit, et ipsos 14 bellum molientes; exercitum eorum ad Bolas oppressit, nec castra modo, sed urbem etiam aggressus impetu primo cepit.

3. Quum in ea parte, in qua caput rei Romanae Camillus erat, ea fortuna esset, aliam in partem terror ingens ingruerat. Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios populi 2 Romani, obsidebat; quorum legati, opem rebus affectis orantes, quum senatum adissent, decretum tulere, ut dictator.

- 3 primo quoque tempore auxilium Sutrinis ferret. Cuius spei moram quum pati fortuna obsessorum non potuisset, confectaue paucitas oppidanorum opere, vigiliis, vulneribus, quae semper eosdem urgebant, per pactionem urbe hostibus tradita, inermis cum singulis emissa vestimentis miserabili
- 4 agmine penates relinqueret, eo forte tempore Camillus cum exercitu Romano intervenit. Cui quum se maesta turba ad pedes provolvisset, principumque orationem necessitate ultima expressam fletus mulierum ac puerorum, qui exsillii comites trahebantur, excepisset, parcere lamentis Sutrinis
- 5 iussit: Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque ferre. Sarcinas inde deponi Sutrinisque ibi considerare modico praesidio relicto, arma secum militem ferre iubet. Ita expedito exercitu profectus ad Sutrium, id quod rebatur, soluta omnia rebus, ut fit, secundis invenit, nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem vagum praedam ex hostium tectis egerentem.
- 6 Iterum igitur eodem die Sutrium capitur; victores Etrusci passim trucidantur ab novo hoste, neque se conglobandi coeundique in unum aut arma capiundi datur spatium.
- 7 Quum pro se quisque tenderent ad portas, si qua forte se in agros eicere possent, clausas (id enim primum dictator imperaverat) portas inveniunt. Inde alii arma capere, alii, quos forte armatos tumultus occupaverat, convocare suos, ut proelium inirent; quod accensum ab desperatione hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni arma et parci inermi iussissent nec praeter armatos quemquam violari.
- 9 Tum etiam quibus animi in spe ultima obstinati ad decertandum fuerant, postquam data spes vitae est, iactare passim arma inermesque, quod tutius fortuna fecerat, se hosti offerre.
- 10 Magna multitudo in custodias divisa; oppidum ante noctem redditum Sutrinis inviolatum integrumque ab omni clade belli, quia non vi captum, sed traditum per condiciones fuerat.

4. Camillus in urbem triumphans rediit, trium simul bel-
 lorum victor. Longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante 2
 currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venundatis tantum aeris red-
 ductum est, ut, pretio pro auro matronis persoluto, ex eo,
 quod supererat, tres paterae aureae factae sint, quas cum 3
 titulo nominis Camilli ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis
 cella constat ante pedes Iunonis positas fuisse. Eo anno in 4
 civitatem accepti, qui Veientium Capenatiumque ac Falis-
 corum per ea bella transfugerant ad Romanos, agerque his
 novis civibus assignatus. Revocati quoque in urbem senatus 5
 consulto a Veiis, qui aedificandi Romae pigritia, occupatis
 ibi vacuis tectis, Veios se contulerant. Et primo fremitus
 fuit aspernantium imperium; dies deinde praestituta capita-
 lisque poena, qui non remigrasset Romam, ex ferocibus
 universis singulos, metu suo quemque, obedientes fecit; et 6
 Roma quum frequentia crescere, tum tota simul exurgere
 aedificiis, et re publica impensas adiuvante et aedilibus velut
 publicum exigentibus opus et ipsis privatis (admonebat enim
 desiderium usus) festinantibus ad effectum operis; intraque
 annum nova urbs stetit. Exitu anni comitia tribunorum 7
 militum consulari potestate habita. Creati T. Quinctius Cin-
 cinnatus, Q. Servilius Fidenas quintum, L. Iulius Iulus, L.
 Aquilius Corvus, L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Ser. Sulpicius 8
 Rufus exercitum alterum in Aequos, non ad bellum (victos
 namque se fatebantur), sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines,
 ne quid ad nova consilia relinquerent virium, duxere, al-
 terum in agrum Tarquiniensem. Ibi oppida Etruscorum 9
 Cortuosa et Contenebra vi capta. Ad Cortuosam nihil cer-
 taminis fuit: improvise adorti primo clamore atque impetu
 cepere; direptum oppidum atque incensum est. Contenebra 10
 paucos dies oppugnationem sustinuit, laborque continuus,
 non die, non nocte remissus, subegit eos. Quum in sex
 partes divisus exercitus Romanus senis horis in orbem suc-

cederet proelio, oppidanos eosdem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos obiiceret, cessere tandem, locusque invadendi
11 urbem Romanis datus est. Publicari praedam tribunis placebat; sed imperium quam consilium segnius fuit; dum cunctantur, iam militum praeda erat nec nisi per invidiam adimi
12 poterat. Eodem anno, ne privatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs, Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.

5. Iam et tribuni plebis, civitate aedificando occupata,
2 contiones suas frequentare legibus agrariis conabantur. Ostentabatur in spem Pomptinus ager, tum primum post accisas a Camillo Volscorum res possessionis haud ambiguae.
3 Criminabantur, multo eum infestiores agrum ab nobilitate esse, quam a Volscis fuerit; ab illis enim tantum, quoad
4 vires et arma habuerint, incursiones eo factas; nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici grassari, nec, nisi, antequam omnia praecipiant, divisus sit, locum ibi plebi fore.
5 Haud magno opere plebem moverunt, et infrequentem in foro propter aedificandi curam et eodem exhaustam impensis, eoque agri immemorem, ad quem instruendum vires non
6 essent. In civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti clade superstitiosis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges deinceps M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, L. Valerius Potitus;
7 hic demum tribunorum militum consulari potestate comitia habuit. L. Papirium, C. *Cornelium*, C. Sergium, L. Aemilium iterum, L. Menenium, L. Valerium Publicolam tertium
8 creat; ii ex interregno magistratum occeperunt. Eo anno aedes Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est a T. Quintio duumviro sacris faciendis. Tribus quattuor ex novis civibus additae, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, Arniensis; eaeque viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere.

6. De agro Pomptino ab L. Sicinio tribuno plebis actum

ad frequentiore*m* iam populum mobiliore*m*que ad cupiditatem agri, quam fuerat. Et de Latino Hernicoque bello 2 mentio facta in senatu maioris belli cura, quod Etruria in armis erat, dilata est. Res ad Camillum tribunum militum 3 consulari potestate rediit; collegae additi quinque, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius Fidenas sextum, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus, P. Valerius. Principio 4 anni aversae curae hominum sunt a bello Etrusco, quod fugientium ex agro Pomptino agmen repente illatum in urbem attulit, Antiates in armis esse Latinorumque populos iuventutem suam misisse ad id bellum, eo abnuentes publicum fuisse consilium, quod non prohibitos tantummodo [voluntarios] dicerent militare, ubi vellent. Desierant iam 6 ulla contemni bella. Itaque senatus dis agere gratias, quod Camillus in magistratu esset: dictatorem quippe dicendum eum fuisse, si privatus esset; et collegae fateri, regimen omnium rerum, ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno 7 esse, sibi*que* destinatum [in] animo esse Camillo summittere imperium, nec quicquam de maiestate sua detractum credere, quod maiestati eius viri concessissent. Collaudatis ab senatu tribunis et ipse Camillus, confusus animo, gratias egit. In- 8 gens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se [dictatorem] iam quartum creasset, magnum a senatu talibus de se iudiciis eius ordinis, maximum tam honorato collegarum obsequio iniungi. Itaque si quid laboris vigiliarum*que* adiaci possit, 9 certantem secum ipsum annisurum, ut tanto de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit, etiam constantem efficiat. Quod ad bellum atque Antiates attineat, plus ibi 10 minarum quam periculi esse; se tamen, ut nihil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi auctorem esse. Circumsederi urbem 11 Romanam ab invidia et odio finitimorum; itaque et ducibus pluribus et exercitibus administrandam rem publicam esse. 'Te' inquit, 'L. Valeri, socium imperii consilii*que* legiones 12

13 mecum adversus Antiatem hostem ducere placet; te, Q. Servili, altero exercitu instructo paratoque ad urbem castra habere, intentum, sive Etruria se interim, ut nuper, sive nova haec cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint; pro certo habeo, ita rem gesturum, ut patre, avo teque ipso ac sex
14 tribunatibus dignum est. Tertius exercitus ex causariis senioribusque a L. Quinctio scribatur, qui urbi moenibusque praesidio sit. L. Horatius arma, tela, frumentum, quaeque
15 alia belli tempora poscent, provideat. Te, Ser. Corneli, praesidem huius publici consilii, custodem religionum, comitiorum, legum, rerum omnium urbanarum, collegae facimus.
16 Cunctis in partes muneris sui benigne pollicentibus operam, Valerius, socius imperii lectus, adiecit, M. Furium sibi pro
17 dictatore seque ei pro magistro equitum futurum; proinde, quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent. Se vero bene sperare patres et de bello et de
18 pace universaque re publica erecti gaudio fremunt, nec dictatore unquam opus fore rei publicae, si tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordibus iunctos animis, parere atque imperare iuxta paratos laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes.

7. Iustitio indicto dilectuque habito, Furius ac Valerius ad Satricum profecti, quo non Volscorum modo iuventutem Antiates ex nova subole lectam, sed ingentem Latinorum Hernicorumque vim conciverant ex integerrimis diutina pace populis. Itaque novus hostis veteri adiunctus commovit
2 animos militis Romani. Quod ubi aciem iam instruenti Camillo centuriones renuntiaverunt, turbatas militum mentes esse, segniter arma capta, cunctabundosque et restitantes egressos castris esse, quin voces quoque auditas, cum centenis hostibus singulos pugnaturus, et aegre inermem tantam
3 multitudinem, nedum armatam, sustineri posse, in equum insilire et ante signa, obversus in aciem, ordines interequitans:

‘Quae tristitia, milites, haec, quae insolita cunctatio est? Hostem an me an vos ignoratis? Hostis est quid aliud quam perpetua materia virtutis gloriaeque vestrae? Vos 4 contra me duce, ut Falerios Veiosque captos et in capta patria Gallorum legiones caesas taceam, modo trigeminae victoriae triplicem triumphum ex his ipsis Volscis et Aequis et ex Etruria egistis. An me, quod non dictator vobis, sed 5 tribunus signum dedi, non agnoscitis ducem? Neque ego maxima imperia in vos desidero, et vos in me nihil praeter me ipsum intueri decet; neque enim dictatura mihi unquam animos fecit, ut ne exsilium quidem ademit. Iidem igitur 6 omnes sumus, et quum eadem omnia in hoc bellum afferamus, quae in priora attulimus, eundem eventum belli expectemus. Simul concurreritis, quod quisque didicit ac consuevit, faciet: vos vincetis, illi fugient.’

8. Dato deinde signo ex equo desilit et proximum signiferum manu arreptum secum in hostem rapit, ‘Infer, miles’ clamitans, ‘signum.’ Quod ubi videre ipsum Camillum, iam 2 ad munera corporis senecta invalidum, vadentem in hostes, procurrant pariter omnes clamore sublato, ‘Sequere imperatorem’ pro se quisque clamantes. Emissum etiam signum 3 Camilli iussu in hostium aciem ferunt, idque ut repetere-
tur, concitatos antesignanos; ibi primum pulsum Antiatem, 4 terroremque non in primam tantum aciem, sed etiam ad subsidiarios perlatum. Nec vis tantum militum movebat, 5 excitata praesentia ducis, sed quod Volscorum animis nihil terribilius erat quam ipsius Camilli forte oblata species; ita, 6 quocunque se intulisset, victoriam secum haud dubiam trahebat. Maxime id evidens fuit, quum in laevum cornu prope iam pulsum arrepto repente equo cum scuto pedestri ad-
vectus conspectu suo proelium restituit, ostentans vincentem ceteram aciem. Iam inclinata res erat, sed turba hostium et 7 fugam impediēbat, et longa caede conficienda multitudo tanta

fesso militi erat, quum repente ingentibus procellis fusus imber certam magis victoriam quam proelium diremit. Signo deinde receptui dato, nox insecuta quietis Romanis perfecit bellum. Latini namque et Hernici relictis Volscis domos profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti eventus; Volsci ubi se desertos ab eis videre, quorum fiducia rebellaverant, relictis castris moenibus Satrici se includunt. Quos primo Camillus vallo circumdare et aggere atque operibus oppugnare est adortus. Quae postquam nulla eruptione impediri videt, minus esse animi ratus in hoste, quam ut in eo tam lentae spei victoriam exspectaret, cohortatus milites, ne tanquam Veios oppugnantes in opere longinquo sese tererent: victoriam in manibus esse, ingenti militum alacritate moenia undique aggressus scalis oppidum cepit. Volsci abiectis armis sese dediderunt.

9. Ceterum animus ducis rei maiori, Antio, imminebat: id caput Volscorum, eam fuisse originem proximi belli. Sed quia nisi magno apparatu, tormentis machinisque, tam valida urbs capi non poterat, relicto ad exercitum collega, Romam est profectus, ut senatum ad excidendum Antium hortaretur. 3 Inter sermonem eius (credo rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere dis cordi fuisse) legati ab Nepete ac Sutrio auxilium adversus Etruscos petentes veniunt, brevem occasionem esse ferendi auxilii memorantes. Eo vim Camilli ab Antio fortuna 4 avertit. Namque quum ea loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea, quum quid novi molirentur, et Romanis recuperandi tuendique cura 5 erat. Igitur senatui cum Camillo agi placuit, ut omisso Antio bellum Etruscum susciperet; legiones urbanae, quibus Quinctius praefuerat, ei decernuntur. Quanquam expertum exercitum assuetumque imperio, qui in Volscis erat, mallet, nihil recusavit; Valerium tantummodo imperii socium depoposcit. Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volscos missi.

Profecti ab urbe Sutrium Furius et Valerius partem oppidi 7
iam captam ab Etruscis invenere, ex parte altera, intersaeptis
itineribus, aegre oppidanos vim hostium ab se arcentes.
Quum Romani auxilii adventus, tum Camilli nomen celeberrimum 8
apud hostes sociosque et in praesentia rem inclinatam
sustinuit et spatium ad opem ferendam dedit. Itaque diviso 9
exercitu Camillus collegam, in eam partem circumductis
copiis, quam hostes tenebant, moenia aggredi iubet, non tanta
spe, scalis capi urbem posse, quam ut, aversis eo hostibus, et
oppidanis iam pugnando fessis laxaretur labor et ipse spatium
inrandi sine certamine moenia haberet. Quod quum simul 10
utrinque factum esset ancepsque terror Etruscos circumstaret,
et moenia summa vi oppugnari et intra moenia esse hostem
viderent, porta se, quae una forte non obsidebatur, trepidi
uno agmine eiecere. Magna caedes fugientium et in urbe et 11
per agros est facta; plures a Furianis intra moenia caesi;
Valeriani expeditiores ad persequendos fuere nec ante noctem,
quae conspectum ademit, finem caedendi fecere. Sutrio re- 12
cepto restitutoque sociis, Nepete exercitus ductus, quod per
deditionem acceptum iam totum Etrusci habebant.

10. Videbatur plus in ea urbe recipienda laboris fore, non
eo solum, quod tota hostium erat, sed etiam quod parte
Nepesinorum prodente civitatem facta erat deditio; mitti 2
tamen ad principes eorum placuit, ut secernerent se ab
Etruscis fidemque, quam implorassent ab Romanis, ipsi
praestarent. Unde quum responsum allatum esset, nihil suae 3
potestatis esse, Etruscos moenia custodiasque portarum tenere,
primo populationibus agri terror est oppidanis admotus;
deinde, postquam deditionis quam societatis fides sanctor 4
erat, fascibus sarmentorum ex agro collatis, ductus ad moenia
exercitus, completisque fossis scalae admotae, et clamore
primo impetuque oppidum capitur. Nepesinis inde edictum, 5
ut arma ponant, parciqque iussum inermi; Etrusci pariter

armati atque inermes caesi. Nepesinorum quoque auctores
deditionis securi percussi; innoxiae multitudini redditae res,
6 oppidumque cum praesidio relictum. Ita duabus sociis
urbibus ex hoste receptis, victorem exercitum tribuni cum
magna gloria Romam reducerunt. Eodem anno ab Latinis
Hernicisque res repetitae quaesitumque, cur per eos annos
7 militem ex instituto non dedissent. Responsum frequenti
utriusque gentis concilio est, nec culpam in eo publicam nec
consilium fuisse, quod suae iuventutis aliqui apud Volscos
8 militaverint; eos tamen ipsos pravi consilii poenam habere,
nec quemquam ex iis reducem esse; militis autem non dati
causam terrorem assiduum a Volscis fuisse, quam pestem
adhaerentem lateri suo tot super alia aliis bellis exauriri
9 nequisse. Quae relata patribus magis tempus quam causam
non visa belli habere.

11. Insequenti anno, A. Manlio, P. Cornelio, T. et L.
Quinctiis Capitolinis, L. Papirio Cursore iterum, *C. Sergio*
iterum tribunis consulari potestate, grave bellum foris,
2 gravior domi seditio exorta, bellum a Volscis, adiuncta
Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, seditio, unde
minime timeri potuit, a patriciae gentis viro et inclitae
3 famae, M. Manlio Capitolino. Qui nimius animi quum alios
principes sperneret, uni invideret eximio simul honoribus
atque virtutibus, M. Furio, aegre ferebat, solum eum in
magistratibus, solum apud exercitus [esse] tantum iam
4 eminere, ut iisdem auspiciis creatos non pro collegis, sed pro
ministis habeat, quum interim, si quis vere aestimare velit, a
M. Furio recuperari patria ex obsidione hostium non potuerit,
5 nisi a se prius Capitolium atque arx servata esset, et ille inter
aurum accipiendum et in spem pacis solutis animis Gallos
aggressus sit, ipse armatos capientesque arcem depulerit,
illius gloriae pars virilis apud omnes milites sit, qui simul
vicerint, suae victoriae neminem omnium mortalium socium

esse. His opinionibus inflato animo, ad hoc vitio quoque 6 ingenii vehemens et impotens, postquam inter patres non, quantum aequum censebat, excellere suas opes animadvertit, primus omnium ex patribus popularis factus cum plebeiis 7 magistratibus consilia communicare; criminando patres, alliciendo ad se plebem, iam aura, non consilio ferri famaeque magnae malle quam bonae esse. Et non con- 8 tentus agrariis legibus, quae materia semper tribunis plebi seditionum fuisset, fidem moliri coepit: acriores quippe aeris alieni stimulos esse, qui non egestatem modo atque ignominiam minentur, sed nervo ac vinclis corpus liberum terrent. Et erat aeris alieni magna vis re damnosissima 9 etiam divitibus, aedificando, contracta. Bellum itaque Volsicum, grave per se, oneratum Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, in speciem causae iactatum, ut maior potestas quaeretur; sed nova consilia Manlii magis compulere 10 senatum ad dictatorem creandum. Creatus A. Cornelius Cossus magistrum equitum dixit T. Quinctium Capitolinum.

12. Dictator etsi maiorem dimicationem propositam domi quam foris cernebat, tamen, seu quia celeritate ad bellum opus erat, seu victoria triumphoque dictaturae ipsi vires se additurum ratus, dilectu habito in agrum Pomptinum, quo a Volscis exercitum inductum audierat, pergit. Non dubito, 2 praeter satietatem, tot iam libris assidua bella cum Volscis gesta legentibus illud quoque succursurum, quod mihi percensenti propiores temporibus harum rerum auctores miraculo fuit, unde toties victis Volscis et Aequis suffecerint milites. Quod quum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit, cuius 3 tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim? Simile veri est, aut intervallis bel- 4 lorum, sicut nunc in dilectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda toties usos esse, aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, quanquam eadem

- 5 semper gens bellum intulerit, aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant.
- 6 Ingens certe, quod inter omnes auctores conveniat, quanquam nuper Camilli ductu atque auspicio accisae res erant, Volscorum exercitus fuit; ad hoc Latini Hernicique accesserant et Circeiensium quidam et coloni etiam a Velitris Romani.
- 7 Dictator, castris eo die positis, postero quum auspiciato prodisset hostiaque caesa pacem deum adorasset, laetus ad milites iam arma ad propositum pugnae signum, sicut edictum erat,
- 8 luce prima capientes processit. 'Nostra victoria est, milites' inquit, 'si quid di vatesque eorum in futurum vident. Itaque, ut decet certae spei plenos et cum imparibus manus conser-turos, pilis ante pedes positis, gladiis tantum dextras armemus. Ne procurri quidem ab acie velim, sed obnixos vos stabili gradu
- 9 impetum hostium excipere. Ubi illi vana iniecerint missilia et effusi stantibus vobis se intulerint, tum micent gladii, et veniat in mentem unicuique, deos esse, qui Romanum adiu-
- 10 vent, deos, qui secundis avibus in proelium miserint. Tu, T. Quincti, equitem intentus ad primum initium moti certaminis tene; at ubi haerere iam aciem collato pede videris, tum terrorem equestrem occupatis alio labore infer, invectusque or-
- 11 dines pugnantium dissipa.' Sic eques, sic pedes, ut praeceperat, pugnant; nec dux legiones nec fortuna fefellit ducem.
13. Multitudo hostium, nulli rei praeterquam numero freta et oculis utramque metiens aciem, temere proelium iniit,
- 2 temere omisit; clamore tantum missilibusque telis et primo pugnae impetu ferox, gladios et collatum pedem et vultum
- 3 hostis ardore animi micantem ferre non potuit. Impulsa frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis illata; et suum terrorem intulit eques; rupti inde multis locis ordines motaque omnia, et fluctuanti similis acies erat. Dein postquam cadentibus primis iam ad se quisque perventuram caedem cernebat, terga

vertunt. Instare Romanus; et donec armati confertique 4
abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit; postquam iactari
arma passim fugaque per agros spargi aciem hostium animad-
versum est, tum equitum turmae emissae, dato signo, ne in
singulorum morando caede spatium ad evadendum interim
multitudini darent: satis esse missilibus ac terrore impediri 5
cursum obequitandoque agmen teneri, dum assequi pedes et
iusta caede conficere hostem posset. Fugae sequendique 6
non ante noctem finis fuit. Capta quoque ac direpta eodem
die castra Volscorum, praedaeque omnis praeter libera corpora
militi concessa est. Pars maxima captivorum ex Latinis atque 7
Hernicis fuit, nec omnium de plebe, ut credi posset mercede
militasse, sed principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta
fides, publica ope Volscos hostes adiutos. Circeiensem 8
quoque quidam cogniti et coloni a Velitris; Romamque
omnes missi percontantibus primoribus patrum eadem, quae
dictatori, defectionem sui quisque populi, haud perplexe
indicavere.

14. Dictator exercitum in stativis tenebat, minime dubius,
bellum cum iis populis patres iussuros, quum maior domi
exorta moles coegit acciri Romam eum, gliscente in dies sedi-
tione, quam solito magis metuendam auctor faciebat. Non 2
enim iam orationes modo M. Manlii, sed facta popularia in
speciem, tumultuosa eadem, qua mente fierent, intuenti erant.
Centurionem, nobilem militaribus factis, iudicatum pecuniae 3
quum duci vidisset, medio foro cum caterva sua accurrit et
manum iniecit, vociferatusque de superbia patrum ac crudelitate
feneratorum et miseriis plebis, virtutibus eius viri fortunaque,
'Tum vero ego' inquit, 'nequicquam hac dextra Capitolium 4
arcemque servaverim, si civem commilitonemque meum, tan-
quam Gallis victoribus captum, in servitutem ac vincla duci
videam.' Inde rem creditori palam populo solvit, libraque 5
et aere liberatum emittit, deos atque homines obtestantem, ut

M. Manlio, liberatori suo, parenti plebis Romanae, gratiam
6 referant. Acceptus extemplo in tumultuosam turbam et ipse
tumultum augebat, cicatrices acceptas Veienti, Gallico aliisque
7 deinceps bellis ostentans : se militantem, se restituentem
eversos penates, multiplici iam sorte exsoluta, mergentibus
semper sortem usuris, obrutum fenore esse ; videre lucem,
8 forum, civium ora M. Manlii opera ; omnia parentium
beneficia ab illo se habere ; illi devovere corporis vitaeque
ac sanguinis quod supersit ; quodcunque sibi cum patria,
penatibus publicis ac privatis iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine
9 esse. His vocibus instincta plebes quum iam unius hominis
esset, addita alia commotioris ad omnia turbanda consilii res.
10 Fundum in Veienti, caput patrimonii, subiecit praeconi, ‘ ne
quem vestrum ’ inquit, ‘ Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea
supererit, iudicatum addictumve duci patiar.’ Id vero ita
accendit animos, ut per omne fas ac nefas secuturi vindicem
11 libertatis viderentur. Ad hoc domi, contionantis in modum,
sermones pleni criminum in patres ; inter quos, [quum] omisso
discrimine, vera an vana iaceret, thesauros Gallici auri occul-
tari a patribus iecit, nec iam possidendis publicis agris
contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant ; ea
12 res si palam fiat, exsolvi plebem aere alieno posse. Quae ubi
obiecta spes est, enimvero indignum facinus videri, quum
conferendum ad redimendam civitatem a Gallis aurum fuerit,
tributo collationem factam, idem aurum ex hostibus captum
13 in paucorum praedam cecidisse. Itaque exsequebantur quae-
rendo, ubi tantae rei furtum occultaretur ; differenteque et
tempore suo se indicaturum dicente, ceteris omissis eo versae
erant omnium curae, apparebatque, nec veri indicii gratiam
mediam nec falsi offensionem fore.

15. Ita suspensis rebus, dictator accitus ab exercitu in
urbem venit. Postero die senatu habito, quum satis periculi-
tatus voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se vetuisset,

stipatus ea multitudine, sella in comitio posita, viatorem 2
ad M. Manlium misit; qui dictatoris iussu vocatus, quum
signum suis dedisset, adesse certamen, agmine ingenti ad
tribunal venit. Hinc senatus, hinc plebs, suum quisque 3
intuentes ducem, velut in acie constiterant. Tum dictator, 4
silentio facto, 'Utinam' inquit, 'mihi patribusque Romanis ita
de ceteris rebus cum plebe conveniat, quemadmodum, quod
ad te attinet eamque rem, quam de te sum quaesiturus, conven-
turum satis confido. Spem factam a te civitati video, fide 5
incolumi ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores patrum occultent,
creditum solvi posse. Cui ego rei tantum abest ut impedi-
mento sim, ut contra te, M. Manli, adhorter, liberes fenore
plebem Romanam et istos incubantes publicis thesauris ex
praeda clandestina evolvas. Quod nisi facis, sive ut et ipse 6
in parte praedae sis, sive quia vanum indicium est, in vincla
te duci iubebo nec diutius patiar, a te multitudinem fallaci
spe concitari.' Ad ea Manlius nec se fefellisse ait, non ad- 7
versus Volscos, toties hostes, quoties patribus expediat, nec
adversus Latinos Hernicosque, quos falsis criminibus in arma
agant, sed adversus se ac plebem Romanam dictatorem creatum
esse; iam omisso bello, quod simulatum sit, in se impetum 8
fieri; iam dictatorem profiteri patrocinium feneratorum ad-
versus plebem; iam sibi ex favore multitudinis crimen et
perniciem quaeri. 'Offendit' inquit, 'te, A. Corneli, vosque, 9
patres conscripti, circumfusa turba lateri meo? Quin eam
diducitis a me singuli vestris beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo
de nervo cives vestros, prohibendo iudicatos addictosque duci,
ex eo, quod affluit opibus vestris, sustinendo necessitates
aliorum? Sed quid ego vos, de vestro impendatis, hortor? 10
Sortem reliquam ferte; de capite deducite, quod usuris per-
numeratum est; iam nihilo mea turba quam ullius conspexior
erit. At enim quid ita solus ego civium curam ago? Nihilo 11
magis, quod respondeam, habeo, quam si quaeras, quid ita

solus Capitolium arcemque servaverim. Et tum universis,
12 quam potui, opem tuli et nunc singulis feram. Nam quod ad
thesauros Gallicos attinet, rem suapte natura facilem difficilem
interrogatio facit. Cur enim quaeritis, quod scitis? cur, quod
in sinu vestro est, excuti iubetis potius, quam ponatis, nisi
13 aliqua fraus subest? Quo magis argui praestigias iubetis
vestras, eo plus vereor, ne abstuleritis observantibus etiam
oculos. Itaque non ego vobis, ut indicem praedas vestras,
sed vos id cogendi estis, ut in medium proferatis.'

16. Quum mittere ambages dictator iuberet et aut peragere
verum indicium cogeret aut fateri facinus insimulati falso
crimine senatus oblataeque vani furti invidiae, negantem
2 arbitrio inimicorum se locuturum in vincla duci iussit. Arreptus
a viatore 'Iuppiter' inquit 'optime maxime Iunoque regina
ac Minerva ceterique di deaeque, qui Capitolium arcemque
incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac praesidem sinitis vexari
ab inimicis? haec dextra, qua Gallos fudi a delubris vestris,
3 iam in vinclis et catenis erit?' Nullius nec oculi nec aures
indignitatem ferebant; sed invicta sibi quaedam patientissima
iusti imperii civitas fecerat, nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut
tribuni plebis aut ipsa plebs attollere oculos aut hiscere aude-
4 bant. Coniecto in carcerem Manlio, satis constat magnam
partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum ac
barbam promississe, obversatamque vestibulo carceris maestam
5 turbam. Dictator de Volscis triumphavit, invidiaeque magis
triumphus quam gloriae fuit; quippe domi, non militiae par-
tum eum actumque de cive, non de hoste fremebant; unum
defuisse tantum superbiae, quod non M. Manlius ante cur-
6 rum sit ductus. Iamque haud procul seditione res erat;
cuius leniendae causa, postulante nullo, largitor voluntarius
repente senatus factus Satricum coloniam duo millia civium
Romanorum deduci iussit. Bina iugera et semisses agri
7 assignati; quod quum et parvum et paucis datum et mer-

cedem esse prodendi M. Manlii interpretarentur, remedio irritatur seditio. Et iam magis insignis sordibus et facie re-
orum turba Manliana erat, amotusque post triumphum abdicatione dictaturae terror et linguam et animos liberaverat hominum.

17. Audiebantur itaque propalam voces exprobrantium multitudini, quod defensores suos semper in praecipitem locum favore tollat, deinde in ipso discrimine periculi destituat: sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic Sp. 2 Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propulsantem oppressos; sic M. Manlium, mersam et obrutam fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem, proditum inimicis. Saginare plebem [populares] suos, ut iu- 3 gulentur. Hocine patiendum fuisse, si ad nutum dictatoris non responderit vir consularis? Fingerent, mentitum ante, atque ideo non habuisse, quod tum responderet; cui servo unquam mendacii poenam vincla fuisse? Non obversatam 4 esse memoriam noctis illius, quae paene ultima atque aeterna nomini Romano fuerit? non speciem agminis Gallorum per Tarpeiam rupem scandentis? non ipsius M. Manlii, qualem eum armatum, plenum sudoris ac sanguinis, ipso paene Iove erepto ex hostium manibus, vidissent? Selibrisne farris 5 gratiam servatori patriae relatum? et quem prope caelestem, cognomine certe Capitolino Iovi parem fecerint, eum pati vinctum in carcere, in tenebris obnoxiam carnificis arbitrio ducere animam? Adeo in uno omnibus satis auxilii fuisse, nullam opem in tam multis uni esse? Iam ne nocte quidem 6 turba ex eo loco dilabebatur, refracturosque carcerem minabantur, quum remisso, quod erepturi erant, ex senatus consulto Manlius vinclis liberatur; quo facto non seditio finita, sed dux seditioni datus est. Per eosdem dies Latinis et 7 Hernicis, simul colonis Circeiensibus et a Velitris, purgantibus se Volsci crimine belli captivosque repentibus, ut

suis legibus in eos animadverterent, tristia responsa reddita, tristiora colonis, quod cives Romani patriae oppugnandae
8 nefanda consilia inissent. Non negatum itaque tantum de captivis, sed, in quo ab sociis tamen temperaverant, denunti-
atum senatus verbis, facesserent propere ex urbe ab ore atque oculis populi Romani, ne nihil eos legationis ius, ex-
terno, non civi comparatum, tegeret.

18. Recrudescente Manliana seditione, sub exitum anni comitia habita, creatique tribuni militum consulari potestate Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis iterum, P. Valerius Potitus iterum, M. Furius Camillus quintum, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus iterum, C. Papirius Crassus, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus ite-
2 rum. Cuius principio anni et patribus et plebi peropportune externa pax data, plebi, quod non advocata dilectu spem cepit, dum tam potentem haberet ducem, fenoris expug-
nandi, patribus, ne quo externo terrore avocarentur animi
3 ab sanandis domesticis malis. Igitur quum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta esset, iam propinquum certamen aderat. Et Manlius, advocata domum plebe, cum principibus novandarum rerum interdiu noctuque consilia agit, plenior aliquanto animorum irarumque, quam antea fuerat.
4 Iram accenderat ignominia recens in animo ad contumeliam inexperto; spiritus dabat, quod nec ausus esset idem in se dictator, quod in Sp. Maelio Cincinnatus Quinctius fecisset, et vinclorum suorum invidiam non dictator modo abdicando dictaturam fugisset, sed ne senatus quidem sustinere po-
5 tuisset. His simul inflatus exacerbatusque iam per se accensos incitabat plebis animos. 'Quousque tandem ignorabitis vires vestras, quas natura ne beluas quidem ignorare voluit? Numerate saltem, quot ipsi sitis, quot adversarios
6 habeatis. Si singuli singulos aggressuri essetis, tamen acrius crederem vos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione certaturos; quoteni clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos,

tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis. Ostendite modo 7
bellum; pacem habebitis. Videant vos paratos ad vim;
ius ipsi remittent. Audendum est aliquid universis, aut
omnia singulis patienda. Quousque me circumspectabitis? 8
Ego quidem nulli vestrum deero; ne fortuna mea desit,
videte. Ipse vindex vester, ubi visum inimicis est, nullus
repente fui, et vidistis in vincla duci universi eum, qui a
singulis vobis vincla depuleram. Quid sperem, si plus in 9
me audeant inimici? An exitum Cassii Maelique exspectem?
Bene facitis, quod abominamini. Di prohibebunt haec;
sed nunquam propter me de caelo descendent; vobis dent
mentem oportet, ut prohibeatis, sicut mihi dederunt armato
togatoque, ut vos a barbaris hostibus, a superbis defenderem
civibus. Tam parvus animus tanti populi est, ut semper 10
vobis auxilium adversus inimicos satis sit, nec ullum, nisi
quatenus imperari vobis sinatis, certamen adversus patres
noritis? Nec hoc natura insitum vobis est, sed usu possi-
demini. Cur enim adversus externos tantum animorum 11
geritis, ut imperare illis aequum censeatis? Quia consuestis
cum eis pro imperio certare, adversus hos tentare magis
quam tueri libertatem. Tamen, qualescunque duces ha- 12
buis, qualescunque ipsi fuistis, omnia adhuc, quantacunque
petistis, obtinuistis seu vi seu fortuna vestra. Tempus est
[et]iam maiora conari. Experimini modo et vestram feli- 13
citatem et me, ut spero, feliciter expertum; minore negotio,
qui imperet, patribus imponetis quam, qui resisterent im-
perantibus, imposuistis. Solo aequandae sunt dictaturae 14
consulatusque, ut caput attollere Romana plebes possit.
Proinde adeste; prohibete ius de pecuniis dici; ego me
patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea et fides
nomen induit; vos si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve 15
nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore
ad obtinenda ea, quae vultis.' Inde de regno agendi ortum 16

initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint, satis planum traditur.

19. At in parte altera senatus de secessione in domum privatam plebis, forte etiam in arce positam, et imminente mole libertati agitat. Magna pars vociferantur, Servilio Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincla duci iubendo irritet publicum hostem, sed unius iactura civis finiat intestinum bellum. Decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem, ut videant magistratus, ne quid ex perniciosis consiliis M. Manlii res publica detrimenti capiat. Tum tribuni consulari potestate tribunique plebi (nam et *ei*, quia eundem et suae potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dediderant) hi tum omnes, quid opus facto sit, consultant. Quum praeter vim et caedem nihil cuiquam occurreret, eam autem ingentis dimicationis fore appareret, tum M. Menenius et Q. Publilius tribuni plebis: 'Quid patrum et plebis certamen facimus, quod civitatis esse adversus unum pestiferum civem debet? Quid cum plebe aggredimur eum, quem per ipsam plebem tutius aggredi est, ut suis ipse oneratus viribus ruat? Diem dicere ei nobis in animo est. Nihil minus populare quam regnum est. Simul multitudo illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe, patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati favebunt suae.'

20. Approbantibus cunctis diem Manlio dicunt. Quod ubi est factum, primo commota plebs est, utique postquam sordidatum reum viderunt nec cum eo non modo patrum quemquam, sed ne cognatos quidem aut affines, postremo ne fratres quidem A. et T. Manlios, quod ad eum diem nunquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent: App. Claudio in vincla ducto C. Claudium inimicum Claudiamque omnem gentem sordidatam fuisse;

consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset. Quum dies venit, quae praeter coetus 4 multitudinis seditiosasque voces et largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio; nec dubito, haud parva fuisse, quum damnandi mora plebi 5 non in causa, sed in loco fuerit. Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quae et quanta decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum, sed invisae etiam reddiderit: ho- 6 mines prope quadringentos produxisse dicitur, quibus sine fenore expensas pecunias tulisset, quorum bona venire, quos duci addictos prohibuisset; ad haec decora quoque belli 7 non commemorasse tantum, sed protulisse etiam conspicienda, spolia hostium caesorum ad triginta, dona imperatorum ad quadraginta, in quibus insignes duas murales coronas, civicas octo; ad hoc servatos ex hostibus cives 8 [produxit], inter quos C. Servilium magistrum equitum absentem nominatim; et quum ea quoque, quae bello gesta essent, pro fastigio rerum oratione etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando, memorasset, nudasse pectus insigne cicatricibus bello acceptis et identidem Capitolium spectans Iovem 9 deosque alios devocasse ad auxilium fortunarum suarum precatusque esse, ut, quam mentem sibi Capitolinam arcem protegenti ad salutem populi Romani dedissent, eam populo Romano in suo discrimine darent, et orasse singulos universosque, ut Capitolium atque arcem intuentes, ut ad deos immortales versi de se iudicarent. In campo Martio quum 10 centuriatim populus citaretur, et reus ad Capitolium manus tendens ab hominibus ad deos preces avertisset, apparuit tribunis, nisi oculos quoque hominum liberassent tanti memoria decoris, nunquam fore in praeoccupatis beneficio animis vero crimini locum. Ita producta die, in Petelinum 11 lucum extra portam Flamentanam, unde conspectus in

Capitolium non esset, concilium populi indictum est. Ibi crimen valuit, et obstinatis animis triste iudicium invisumque
12 etiam iudicibus factum. Sunt, qui per duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirent, creatos auctores sint damnatum. Tribuni de saxo Tarpeio deiecerunt, locusque idem in uno homine et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae
13 fuit. Adiectae mortuo notae sunt, publica una, quod, quum domus eius fuisset, ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est, latum ad populum est, ne quis patricius in arce aut
14 Capitolio habitaret, gentilicia altera, quod gentis Manliae decreto cautum est, ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur. Hunc exitum habuit vir, nisi in libera civitate natus esset,
15 memorabilis. Populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes desiderium eius tenuit. Pestilentia etiam brevi consecuta, nullis occurrentibus tantae cladis causis, ex Manliano supplicio magnae
16 parti videri orta: violatum Capitolium esse sanguine servatoris, nec dis cordi fuisse, poenam eius oblatam prope oculis suis, a quo sua templa erepta e manibus hostium essent.

21. Pestilentiam inopia frugum et vulgatam utriusque mali famam anno insequente multiplex bellum excepit, L. Valerio quartum, A. Manlio tertium, Ser. Sulpicio tertium, L. Lucretio, L. Aemilio tertium, M. Trebonio tribunis militum consulari potestate. Hostes novi, praeter Volscos, velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos, Circeiosque et Velitras colonias, iam diu molientes defectionem, et suspectum Latium, Lanuvini etiam,
3 quae fidelissima urbs fuerat, subito exorti. Id patres rati contemptu accidere, quod Veliternis civibus suis tam diu impunita defectio esset, decreverunt, ut primo quoque tempore ad populum ferretur de bello eis indicendo. Ad quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinqueviros Pomptino agro dividendo et triumviros Nepete coloniae deducendae

creaverunt. Tum, ut bellum iuberent, latum ad populum 5
est, et nequicquam dissuadentibus tribunis plebis omnes
tribus bellum iusserunt. Apparatum eo anno bellum est, 6
exercitus propter pestilentiam non eductus; eaque cunctatio
colonis spatium dederat deprecandi senatum; et magna
hominum pars eo, ut legatio supplex Romam mitteretur,
inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit, periculo publicum implicitum 7
esset auctoresque defectionis ab Romanis metu, ne soli
crimini subiecti piacula irae Romanorum dederentur, aver-
tissent colonias a consiliis pacis. Neque in senatu solum 8
per eos legatio impedita est, sed magna pars plebis incitata,
ut praedatum in agrum Romanum exirent. Haec nova
iniuria exturbavit omnem spem pacis. De Praenestinatorum 9
quoque defectione eo anno primum fama exorta; arguen-
tibusque eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Lavicanis, quorum
in fines incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum
est, ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse,
appareret.

22. Insequenti anno Sp. et L. Papirii novi tribuni mi-
litum consulari potestate Velitras legiones duxere, quattuor
collegis, Ser. Cornelio Maluginensi tertium, Q. Servilio, C.
Sulpicio, L. Aemilio quartum [tribunis], ad praesidium
urbis et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur (omnia
enim inde suspecta erant), relictis. Ad Velitras adversus 2
maiora paene auxilia Praenestinatorum quam ipsam colonorum
multitudinem secundo proelio pugnatum est ita, ut propin-
quitas urbis hosti et causa maturioris fugae et unum ex fuga
receptaculum esset. Oppidi oppugnatione tribuni abstinuere, 3
quia et anceps erat nec in perniciem coloniae pugnandum
censebant. Litterae Romam ad senatum cum victoriae
nuntiis acriores in Praenestinum quam in Veliternum hostem
missae. Itaque ex senatus consulto populi iussu bellum 4
Praenestinis indictum; qui coniuncti Volscis anno inse-

quente Satricum, coloniam populi Romani, pertinaciter a colonis defensam, vi expugnarunt foedeque in captis exercuere victoriam. Eam rem aegre passi Romani M. Furium Camillum sextum tribunum militum creavere. Additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses ac L. Furius cum L. 6 Lucretio et M. Fabio Ambusto. Volscum bellum M. Furio extra ordinem decretum; adiutor ex tribunis sorte L. Furius datur, non tam e re publica, quam ut collegae materia ad omnem laudem esset, et publice, quod rem temeritate eius prolapsam restituit, et privatim, quod ex errore gratiam 7 potius eius sibi quam suam gloriam petiit. Exactae iam aetatis Camillus erat, comitiisque iurare parato in verba excusandae valetudini solita consensus populi restiterat; sed vegetum ingenium in vivo pectore vigeat, virebatque integris sensibus, et civiles iam res haud magnopere obeun- 8 tem bella excitabant. Quattuor legionibus quaternum milium scriptis, exercitu indicto ad portam Esquilinam in 9 posteram diem, ad Satricum profectus. Ibi eum expugnatores coloniae haudquaquam perculsi, fidentes militum numero, quo aliquantum praestabant, opperiebantur. Postquam appropinquare Romanos senserunt, extemplo in aciem procedunt, nihil dilatari, quin periculum summae rerum facerent: ita paucitati hostium nihil artes imperatoris unci, quibus solis confiderent, profuturas esse.

23. Idem ardor et in Romano exercitu erat et in altero duce, nec praesentis dimicationis fortunam ulla res praeterquam unius viri consilium atque imperium morabatur, qui occasionem iuvandarum ratione virium trahendo bello quae- 2 rebat. Eo magis hostis instare, nec iam pro castris tantum suis explicare aciem, sed procedere in medium campi et vallo prope hostium signa inferendo superbam fiduciam 3 virium ostentare. Id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo aegrius alter ex tribunis militum, L. Furius, ferox quum

aetate et ingenio, tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos spe inflatus. Hic per se iam milites incitatos in- 4 super instigabat elevando, qua una poterat, aetate auctoritatem collegae, iuvenibus bella data dictitans, et cum corporibus vigere et deflorescere animos; cunctatorem ex acer- 5 rimo bellatore factum, et, qui adveniens castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit solitus, eum residem intra vallum tempus terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumve hostium viribus sperantem? quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem 6 insidiis instruendis locum? Frigere ac torpere senis consilia. Sed Camillo quum vitae satis, tum gloriae esse; quid attinere 7 cum mortali corpore uno civitatis, quam immortalem esse deceat, pati consenescere vires? His sermonibus tota in se 8 averterat castra; et quum omnibus locis posceretur pugna, 'Sustinere' inquit, 'M. Furi, non possumus impetum militum, et hostis, cuius animos cunctando auximus, iam minime toleranda superbia insultat; cede unus omnibus et patere te vinci consilio, ut maturius bello vincas.' Ad ea Camillus, 9 quae bella suo unius auspicio gesta ad eam diem essent, negare in eis neque se neque populum Romanum aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse; nunc scire se, collegam habere iure imperioque parem, vigore aetatis praestantem; itaque se, quod ad exercitum attineat, regere consuesse, non 10 regi; collegae imperium se non posse impedire. Dis bene iuvantibus ageret, quod e re publica duceret; aetati suae se veniam eam petere, ne in prima acie esset; quae senis munia in bello sint, iis se non defuturum. Id a dis immortalibus precari, ne qui casus suum consilium laudabile efficiat. Nec ab hominibus salutaris sententia nec a dis tam piaae 12 preces audita sunt. Primam aciem auctor pugnae instruit, subsidia Camillus firmat validamque stationem pro castris opponit; ipse edito loco spectator intentus in eventum alieni consilii constitit.

24. Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, hostis dolo,
2 non metu pedem rettulit. Lenis ab tergo clivus erat inter
aciem et castra; et, quod multitudo suppeditabat, aliquot
validas cohortes in castris armatas instructasque relique-
rant, quae inter commissum iam certamen, ubi vallo appro-
3 pinquasset hostis, erumperent. Romanus cedentem hostem
effuse sequendo in locum iniquum pertractus opportunus
huic eruptioni fuit; versus itaque in victorem terror et novo
4 hoste et supina valle Romanam inclinavit aciem. Instant
Volsci recentes, qui e castris impetum fecerant; integrant
et illi pugnam, qui simulata cesserant fuga. Iam non reci-
piebat se Romanus miles, sed immemor recentis ferociae
veterisque decoris terga passim dabat atque effuso cursu
5 castra repetebat, quum Camillus, subiectus ab circumstanti-
bus in equum et raptim subsidiis oppositis, 'Haec est' inquit,
'milites, pugna, quam poposcistis? Quis homo, quis deus
est, quem accusare possitis? Vestra illa temeritas, vestra
6 ignavia haec est. Secuti alium ducem sequimini nunc
Camillum et, quod ductu meo soletis, vincite. Quid vallum
et castra spectatis? Neminem vestrum illa nisi victorem
7 receptura sunt.' Pudor primo tenuit effusos; inde, ut cir-
cumagi signa obvertique aciem viderunt in hostem, et dux,
praeterquam quod tot insignis triumphis, etiam aetate vene-
rabilis inter prima signa, ubi plurimus labor periculumque
erat, se offerebat, increpare singuli se quisque et alios, et
adhortatio in vicem totam alacri clamore pervasit aciem.
8 Neque alter tribunus rei defuit, sed missus a collega resti-
tuyente peditum aciem ad equites, non castigando, ad quam
rem leviolem auctorem eum culpa societas fecerat, sed ab
imperio totus ad preces versus orare singulos universosque,
9 ut se reum fortunae eius diei crimine eximerent: 'Abnuente
ac prohibente collega, temeritati me omnium potius socium
quam unius prudentiae dedi. Camillus in utraque vestra

fortuna suam gloriam videt ; ego, ni restituitur pugna, quod miserrimum est, fortunam cum omnibus, infamiam solus sentiam.' Optimum visum est in fluctuantem aciem †tradi 10 equos et pedestri pugna invadere hostem. Eunt insignes armis animisque, qua premi parte maxime peditum copias vident. Nihil neque apud duces neque apud milites remittitur a summo certamine animi. Sensit ergo eventus 11 virtutis enixae opem, et Volsci, qua modo simulato metu cesserant, ea in veram fugam effusi, magna pars et in ipso certamine et post in fuga caesi, ceteri in castris, quae capta eodem impetu sunt ; plures tamen capti quam occisi.

25. Ubi in recensendis captivis quum Tusculani aliquot noscitantur, secreti ab aliis ad tribunos adducuntur, percontantibusque fassi, publico consilio se militasse. Cuius 2 tam vicini belli metu Camillus motus extemplo se Romam captivos ducturum ait, ne patres ignari sint, Tusculanos ab societate descisse : castris exercituique interim, si videatur, praesit collega. Documento unus dies fuerat, ne sua con- 3 silia melioribus praeferret ; nec tamen aut ipsi aut in exercitu cuiquam satis placato animo Camillus laturus culpam eius videbatur, qua data in tam praecipitem casum res publica esset ; et quum in exercitu, tum Romae constans omnium 4 fama erat, quum varia fortuna in Volscis gesta res esset, adversae pugnae fugaeque in L. Furio culpam, secundae decus omne penes M. Furium esse. Introductis in senatum 5 captivis, quum bello persequendos Tusculanos patres censuissent Camilloque id bellum mandassent, adiutorem sibi ad eam rem unum petit, permissoque, ut ex collegis optaret, quem vellet, contra spem omnium L. Furium optavit, qua 6 moderatione animi quum collegae levavit infamiam, tum sibi gloriam ingentem peperit. Nec fuit cum Tusculanis bellum ; pace constanti vim Romanam arcuerunt, quam

7 armis non poterant. Intransibiles fines Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis itineri locis, non cultus agrorum intermissus; patentibus portis urbis togati obviam frequentes imperatoribus processere; commeatus exercitui comiter in
8 castra ex urbe et ex agris devehitur. Camillus, castris ante portas positis, eademne forma pacis, quae in agris ostentaretur, etiam intra moenia esset, scire cupiens, ingressus urbem, ubi patentes ianuas et tabernis apertis proposita omnia in medio vidit, intentosque opifices suo quemque operi, et ludos litterarum strepere discentium vocibus, ac repletas semitas inter vulgus aliud puerorum et mulierum huc atque illuc euntium, qua quemque suorum usuum
10 causae ferrent, nihil usquam non pavidis modo, sed ne mirantibus quidem simile, circumspiciebat omnia, inquirens oculis, ubinam bellum fuisset; adeo nec amotae rei usquam nec oblatae ad tempus vestigium ullum erat, sed ita omnia constanti tranquilla pace, ut eo vix fama belli perlata videri posset.

26. Victus igitur patientia hostium senatum eorum vocari iussit. 'Soli adhuc' inquit, Tusculani, vera arma verasque vires, quibus ab ira Romanorum vestra tutaremini, invenistis.
2 Ite Romam ad senatum; aestimabunt patres, utrum plus ante poenae an nunc veniae meriti sitis. Non praecipiam gratiam publici beneficii; deprecandi potestatem a me habueritis; precibus eventum vestris senatus, quem videbitur, dabit.' Postquam Romam Tusculani venerunt senatusque paulo ante fidelium sociorum maestus in vestibulo curiae est conspectus, moti extemplo patres vocari eos iam
4 tum hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter iussere. Dictator Tusculanus ita verba fecit: 'Quibus bellum indixistis intulistisque, patres conscripti, sicut nunc videtis nos stantes in vestibulo curiae vestrae, ita armati paratique obviam imperatoribus legionibusque vestris processimus. Hic noster,

hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit, eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis proque vobis arma acceperimus. Gratias agimus et ducibus vestris et exercitibus, quod oculis magis quam auribus crediderunt et, ubi nihil hostile erat, ne ipsi quidem fecerunt. Pacem, quam nos praestitimus, eam a vobis petimus; bellum eo, sicubi est, avertatis precamur; in nos quid arma polleant vestra, si patiundo experiundum est, inermes experiemur. Haec mens nostra est, di immortales faciant, tam felix, quam pia. Quod ad crimina attinet, quibus moti 7 bellum indixistis, etsi revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet, tamen, etiamsi vera sint, vel fateri nobis ea, quum tam evidenter paenituerit, tutum censemus. Peccetur in vos, dum digni sitis, quibus ita satisfiat. Tantum fere ver- 8 borum ab Tusculanis factum. Pacem in praesentia, nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt. Ab Tusculo legiones reductae.

27. Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volsco bello, felicitate in Tusculana expeditione, utrobique singulari adversus collegam patientia et moderatione insignis, magistratu abiit, 2 creatis tribunis militaribus in insequentem annum L. et P. Valeriis, Lucio quintum, Publio tertium, et C. Sergio tertium, L. Menenio iterum, P. Papirio, Ser. Cornelio Maluginense. Censoribus quoque eguit annus, maxime propter 3 incertam famam aeris alieni, aggravantibus summam etiam invidiosius tribunis plebis, quum ab iis elevaretur, quibus fide magis quam fortuna debentium laborare creditum videri expediebat. Creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus, Sp. 4 Postumius Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumii, quia collegam suffici censori religio erat, interpellata est. Igitur quum Sulpicius abdicasset se magistratu, censores 5 alii vitio creati non gesserunt magistratum; tertios creati, velut dis non accipientibus in eum annum censuram, religiosum fuit. Eam vero ludificationem plebis tribuni feren- 6

- dam negabant: fugere senatum testes tabulas publicas census cuiusque, quia nolint conspici summam aeris alieni, quae indicatura sit, demersam partem a parte civitatis, quum interim obaeratam plebem obiectari aliis atque aliis hostibus.
- 7 Passim iam sine ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis, Hernicis, Praenestinis iam intentari arma, civium magis quam hostium odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de levando fenore et fine aliarum iniuriarum
- 8 agentem. Quod si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis, se nec addici quemquam civem Romanum ob creditam pecuniam passuros neque dilectum haberi, donec, inspecto aere alieno initaque ratione minuendi eius, sciat unusquisque, quid sui, quid alieni sit, supersit sibi liberum corpus an id
- 9 quoque nervo debeatur. Merces seditionis proposita confestim seditionem excitavit. Nam et addicebantur multi, et ad Praenestini famam belli novas legiones scribendas patres censuerant; quae utraque simul auxilio tribunicio et con-
- 10 sensu plebis impediri coepta; nam neque duci addictos tribuni sinebant, neque iuniores nomina dabant. Quum patribus minor *in* praesens cura creditae pecuniae iuris exsequendi quam dilectus esset (quippe iam a Praeneste profectos hostes in agro Gabino consedissee nuntiabatur),
- 11 interim tribunos plebis fama ea ipsa irritaverat magis ad susceptum certamen quam deterruerat, neque aliud ad seditionem exstinguendam in urbe quam prope illatum moenibus ipsis bellum valuit.

28. Nam quum esset Praenestinis nuntiatum, nullum exercitum conscriptum Romae, nullum ducem certum esse, 2 patres ac plebem in semet ipsos versos, occasionem rati duces eorum, raptim agmine acto, pervastatis protinus agris,

ad portam Collinam signa intulere. Ingens in urbe trepidatio fuit. Conclamatum 'Ad arma,' concursumque in muros atque portas est; tandemque ab seditione ad bellum versi dictatorem T. Quinctium Cincinnatum creavere. Is magistrum equitum A. Sempronium Atratinum dixit. Quod ubi auditum est (tantus eius magistratus terror erat), simul hostes a moenibus recessere et iuniores Romani ad edictum sine retractatione convenere. Dum conscribitur Romae exercitus, castra interim hostium haud procul Alia flumine posita; inde agrum late populantes, fatalem se urbi Romanae locum cepisse, inter se iactabant; similem pavorem inde ac fugam fore, ac bello Gallico fuerit; etenim si diem contactum religione insignemque nomine eius loci timeant Romani, quanto magis Aliensi die Aliam ipsam, monumentum tantae cladis, reformidaturos? species profecto iis ibi truces Gallorum sonumque vocis in oculis atque auribus fore. Has inanum rerum inanes ipsas volventes cogitationes, fortunae loci delegaverant spes suas. Romani contra, ubicunque esset Latinus hostis, satis scire, eum esse, quem ad Regillum lacum devictum centum annorum pace obnoxia tenuerint: locum insignem memoria cladis irritaturum se potius ad delendam memoriam dedecoris, quam ut timorem faciat, ne qua terra sit nefasta victoriae suae; quin ipsi sibi Galli si offerantur illo loco, se ita pugnatos, ut Romae pugnauerint in repetenda patria, ut postero die ad Gabios, tunc quum effecerint, ne quis hostis, qui moenia Romana intrasset, nuntium secundae adversaeque fortunae domum perferret.

29. His utrinque animis ad Aliam ventum est. Dictator Romanus postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi intentique, 'Videsne tu' inquit, 'A. Semproni, loci fortuna illos fretos ad Aliam constitisse? nec illis di immortales certioris quicquam fiduciae, maiorisve quod sit auxilii,

2 dederint. At tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos trepidantesque inferam signa. Adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque per
3 vestrum numen deceptis.' Non equitem, non peditem sustinere Praenestini. Primo impetu et clamore dissipati ordines sunt; dein postquam nullo loco constabat acies, terga vertunt, consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt, quam
4 in conspectu Praeneste fuit. Ibi ex fuga dissipata locum, quem tumultuario opere communirent, capiunt; ne, si intra moenia se recepissent, extemplo ureretur ager depopulatusque omnibus obsidio urbi inferretur. Sed postquam, directis ad Aliam castris, victor Romanus aderat, id quoque munimentum relictum, et vix moenia tuta rati oppido se
6 Praeneste includunt. Octo praeterea oppida erant sub ditione Praenestinatorum; ad ea circumlatum bellum, deincepsque haud magno certamine captis, Velitras exercitus
7 ductus. Eae quoque expugnatae. Tum ad caput belli Praeneste ventum. Id non vi, sed per deditionem receptum est. T. Quinctius, semel acie victor, binis castris hostium, novem oppidis vi captis, Praeneste in deditionem accepto, Romam revertit, triumphansque signum Praeneste devectum
9 Iovis imperatoris in Capitolium tulit. Deductum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae, tabulaque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his ferme incisa litteris fuit:
10 'Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut T. Quinctius dictator oppida novem caperet.' Die vicesimo, quam creatus erat, dictatura se abdicavit.

30. Comitia inde habita tribunorum militum consulari potestate, quibus aequatus patriciorum plebeiorumque numerus. Ex patribus creati P. et C. Manlii cum L. Iulio; plebes C. Sextilium, M. Albinium, L. Antistium dedit

Manliis, quod genere plebeios, gratia Iulium anteibant, 3
Volsi provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione extra ordinem
data; cuius et ipsos postmodo et patres, qui dederant,
paenituit. Inexplorato pabulatum cohortes misere; quibus 4
velut circumventis, quum id falso nuntiatum esset, dum,
praesidio ut essent, citati feruntur, ne auctore quidem as-
servato, qui eos hostis Latinus pro milite Romano frustratus
erat, ipsi in insidias praecipitavere. Ibi dum iniquo loco, 5
sola virtute militum restantes, caedunt caedunturque, castra
interim Romana, iacentia in campo, ab altera parte hostes
invasere. Ab ducibus utrobique proditae temeritate atque 6
inscitia res; quicquid superfuit fortunae populi Romani,
id militum etiam sine rectore stabilis virtus tutata est. Quae 7
ubi Romam sunt relata, primum dictatorem dici placebat;
deinde, postquam quietae res ex Volscis afferebantur et ap-
paruit, nescire eos victoria et tempore uti, revocati etiam
inde exercitus ac duces, otiumque inde, quantum a Volscis, 8
fuit; id modo extremo anno tumultuatum, quod Praenestini,
concitatis Latinorum populis, rebellarunt. Eodem anno 9
Setiam, ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum, novi coloni
adscripti; rebusque haud prosperis bello domestica quies,
quam tribunorum militum ex plebe gratia maiestasque inter
suos obtinuit, solatium fuit.

31. Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti
arsere, tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio, Q.
Servilio iterum, L. Menenio tertium, P. Cloelio, M. Horatio,
L. Geganio. Erat autem et materia et causa seditionis aes 2
alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Servilius Priscus, Q.
Cloelius Siculus censores facti, ne rem agerent, bello im-
pediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde ex 3
agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines popularique passim
Romanum agrum attulere. In qua trepidatione tantum 4
afuit, ut civilia certamina terror externus cohiberet, ut contra

eo violentior potestas tribunicia impediendo dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus, ne quis, quoad de bellatum esset, tributum daret aut ius de pecunia credita
5 diceretur. Eo laxamento plebi sumpto, mora dilectui non est facta. Legionibus novis scriptis, placuit duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus divisus duci. Sp. Furius, M. Horatius dextrorsus *in* maritimam oram atque Antium, Q. Servilius et L. Geganius laeva ad montes Ecetram pergunt.
6 Neutra parte hostis obvius fuit. Populatio itaque non illi vagae similis, quam Volscus latrocinii more, discordiae hostium fretus et virtutem metuens, per trepidationem raptim fecerat, sed ab iusto exercitu iusta ira facta, spatio quoque
7 temporis gravior. Quippe a Volscis, timentibus, ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret, incursiones in extrema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in hostico morandi
8 causa erat, ut hostem ad certamen eliceret. Itaque omnibus passim tectis agrorum vicisque etiam quibusdam exustis, non arbore frugifera, non satis in spem frugum relictis, omni, quae extra moenia fuit, hominum pecudumque praeda abacta, Romam utrinque exercitus reducti.

32. Parvo intervallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato, postquam quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro iurisdictio, et tantum abesse spes veteris levandi fenus, ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus
2 locatum saxo quadrato faciundum; cui succumbere oneri coacta plebes, quia, quem dilectum impedirent, non habebant
3 tribuni plebis. Tribunos etiam militares patricios omnes coacta principum opibus fecit, L. Aemilium, P. Valerium quartum, C. Veturium, Ser. Sulpicium, L. et C. Quinctios
4 Cincinnatos. Iisdem opibus obtinere, ut adversus Latinos Volscosque, qui coniunctis legionibus ad Satricum castra habebant, nullo impediante omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis, tres exercitus scriberent, unum ad praesidium urbis,

alterum, qui, si qui alibi motus exstisset, ad subita belli 5
mitti posset; tertium longe validissimum P. Valerius et
L. Aemilius ad Satricum duxere. Ubi quum aciem instruc- 6
tam hostium loco aequo invenissent, extemplo pugnatum;
et ut nondum satis claram victoriam, sic prosperae spei
pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit. Postero 7
die iterata pugna, et aliquamdiu aequa virtute fortunaque
Latinae maxime legiones, longa societate militiam Romanam
edoctae, restabant. Eques immissus ordines turbavit; tur- 8
batis signa peditum illata, quantumque Romana se invexit
acies, tantum hostes gradu demoti; et ut semel inclinavit
pugna, iam intolerabilis Romana vis erat. Fusi hostes quum 9
Satricum, quod duo millia inde aberat, non castra peterent,
ab equite maxime caesi; castra capta direptaque. Ab 10
Satrico nocte, quae proelio proxima fuit, fugae simili agmine
petunt Antium; et quum Romanus exercitus prope vestigiis
sequeretur, plus tamen timor quam ira celeritatis habuit.
Prius itaque moenia intravere hostes, quam Romanus ex- 11
trema agminis carpere aut morari posset. Inde aliquot
dies vastando agro absumpti, nec Romanis satis instructis
apparatu bellico ad moenia aggredienda nec illis ad su-
beundum pugnae casum.

33. Seditio tum inter Antiates Latinosque coorta, quum
Antiates victi malis subactique bello, in quo et nati erant
et consenuerant, deditionem spectarent, Latinos ex diutina 2
pace nova defectio recentibus adhuc animis ferociores ad
perseverandum in bello faceret. Finis certaminis fuit, post-
quam utrisque apparuit, nihil per alteros stare, quo minus
incepta persequerentur. Latini profecti a societate pacis, ut 3
rebantur, inhonestae sese vindicaverunt; Antiates, incom-
modis arbitris salutarium consiliorum remotis, urbem agros-
que Romanis dedunt. Ira et rabies Latinorum, quia nec 4
Romanos bello laedere nec Volscos in armis retinere po-

tuerant, eo erupit, ut Satricum urbem, quae receptaculum primum eis adversae pugnae fuerat, igni concremarent. Nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, quum faces pariter sacris
5 profanisque iniicerent, quam matris Matutae templum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia deum arcuisse dicitur, sed vox horrenda edita templo cum tristibus minis, ni nefandos ignes procul delubris amovissent. Incensos ea rabie impetus Tusculum tulit ob iram, quod deserto communi concilio Latinorum non in societatem modo Romanam, sed
7 etiam in civitatem se dedissent. Patentibus portis quum improvise incidissent, primo clamore oppidum praeter arcem captum est. In arcem oppidani refugere cum coniugibus ac liberis, nuntiosque Romam, qui certiores de suo casu senatum facerent, misere. Haud segnus, quam fide populi Romani dignum fuit, exercitus Tusculum ductus; L. Quintus et Ser. Sulpicius tribuni militum duxere. Clausas portas [Tusculi], Latinosque simul obsidentium atque obsessorum animo hinc moenia Tusculi tueri vident, illinc arcem op-
10 pugnare, terrere una ac pavere. Adventus Romanorum mutaverat utriusque partis animos: Tusculanos ex ingenti metu in summam alacritatem, Latinos ex prope certa fiducia mox capiendae arcis, quoniam oppido potirentur, in exiguum
11 de se ipsis spem verterat. Tollitur ex arce clamor ab Tusculanis; excipit aliquanto maior ab exercitu Romano. Utrunque urgentur Latini; nec impetus Tusculanorum decurrentium ex superiore loco sustinent nec Romanos subeuntes moenia molientesque obices portarum arcere possunt.
12 Scalas prius moenia capta, inde effracta claustra portarum; et quum anceps hostis et a fronte et a tergo urgeret, nec ad pugnam ulla vis nec ad fugam loci quicquam superesset, in medio caesi ad unum omnes. Recuperato ab hostibus Tusculo, exercitus Romam est reductus.

34. Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla

omnia foris erant, tantum in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque plebis crescebant, quum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque quum iam ex re 2 nihil dari posset, fama et corpore, iudicati atque addicti, creditoribus satisfaciebant, poenaeque in vicem fidei cesserat. Adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infirmi solum, 3 sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricos petendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret 4 tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur. Ne id 5 nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambusti, potentis viri quum inter sui corporis homines, tum etiam ad plebem, quod haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur, filiae duae nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat, illustri quidem viro, tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa affinitas haud sprete gratiam Fabio ad vulgum quaesierat. Forte ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpicii tribuni 6 militum domo sorores Fabiae quum inter se, ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent, lictor Sulpicii, quum is de foro se domum reciperet, forem, ut mos est, virga percuteret. Quum ad id, moris eius insueta, expavisset minor Fabia, risui 7 sorori fuit, miranti ignorare id sororem; ceterum is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit. Frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque, num quid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis visum, suique ipsam malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime anteiri vult, paenituisse. Confusam eam ex recenti morsu 8 animi quum pater forte vidisset, percontatus 'Satin' salve?' avertentem causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam, elicit 9

comiter sciscitando, ut fateretur, eam esse causam doloris, quod iuncta impari esset, nupta in domo, quam nec
10 honos nec gratia intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem prope-
diem domi visuram honores, quos apud sororem videat.
11 Inde consilia inire cum genero coepit, adhibito L. Sextio, strenuo adolescente et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patricium deesset.

35. Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingen-
tem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes, nisi suis
2 in summo imperio locatis, nullum speraret: accingendum
ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo
gradum fecisse plebeios, unde si porro annitantur, pervenire
ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute
3 possent. In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in
magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent.
4 Creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere
leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis
plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut, deducto eo de capite, quod
usuris pernumeratum esset, id, quod superesset, triennio
5 aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agrorum,
ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret, tertiam, ne
tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter
ex plebe crearetur; cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine
6 maximo obtineri non possent. Omnium igitur simul rerum,
quarum immodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae,
honorum, discrimine proposito, conterriti patres quum trepi-
dassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio
praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessio-
nem invento, collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes com-
7 paraverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari
a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec
recitari rogationes nec sollemne quicquam aliud ad sciscen-

dum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iamque frustra saepe concilio 8
advocato, quum pro antiquatis rogationes essent, 'Bene
habet' inquit Sextius. 'Quando quidem tantum interces-
sionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem.
Agite dum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; 9
faxo, ne iuvet vox ista veto, qua nunc concincentes collegas
nostros tam laeti auditis.' Haud irritae cecidere minae; 10
comitia, praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi, nulla sunt
habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refectioni nullos
curules magistratus creari passi sunt, eaque solitudo magis-
tratum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia
tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quinquennium urbem
tenuit.

36. Alia bella opportune quiescere; Veliterni coloni ges-
tientes otio, quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum
Romanum aliquoties incursare et Tusculum oppugnare
adorti sunt; eaque res, Tusculanis veteribus sociis, novis 2
civibus opem orantibus, verecundia maxime non patres
modo, sed etiam plebem movit. Remittentibus tribunis 3
plebis comitia per interregem sunt habita; creatique tribuni
militum L. Furius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius,
P. et C. Valerii haudquaquam tam obedientem in dilectu
quam in comitiis plebem habuere; ingentique contentione 4
exercitu scripto, profecti non ab Tusculo modo summovere
hostem, sed intra suamet ipsum moenia compulere, obside- 5
banturque haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae, quam Tusculum
obsessum fuerat. Nec tamen ab eis, a quibus obsideri
coeptae erant, expugnari potuerunt; ante novi creati sunt 6
tribuni militum, Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, A. et M. Corneli,
Q. Quinctius, M. Fabius. Nihil ne ab iis quidem tribunis
ad Velitras memorabile factum. In maiore discrimine domi 7
res vertebantur. Nam praeter Sextium Liciniumque latores
legum, iam octavum tribunos plebis refectioni, Fabius quoque

tribunus militum, Stolonis socer, quarum legum auctor fuerat,
8 earum suasorem se haud dubium ferebat, et quum octo ex
collegio tribunorum plebi primo intercessores legum fuissent,
quinque soli erant, et, ut ferme solent, qui a suis desciscunt,
capti et stupentes, animis a voce alienis, id modo, quod domi
9 praeceptum erat, intercessioni suae praetendebant, Velitris
in exercitu plebis magnam partem abesse; in adventum
militum comitia differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis
10 commodis suffragium ferret. Sextius Liciniusque cum parte
collegarum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot
annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum pro-
11 ductos interrogando de singulis, quae ferebantur ad populum,
fatigabant: auderentne postulare, ut, quum bina iugera agri
plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta iugera habere liceret,
ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, ple-
beio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut locum sepulturae
12 suus pateret ager? an placeret, fenore circumventam plebem,
potius quam sorte creditum solvat, corpus in nervum ac
supplicia dare, et gregatim quotidie de foro addictos duci, et
repleri vinctis nobiles domus et, ubicunque patricius habitet,
ibi carcerem privatum esse?

37. Haec indigna miserandaque auditu quum apud ti-
mentes sibimet ipsos, maiore audientium indignatione quam
2 sua, increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec
fenore trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore affirma-
bant, nisi alterum ex plebe consulem, custodem suae liber-
3 tatis, plebes fecisset. Contemni iam tribunos plebis, quippe
quae potestas iam suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo.
4 Non posse aequo iure agi, ubi imperium penes illos, penes
se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato, nunquam
plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. Nec esse, quod
quisquam satis putet, si plebeiorum ratio comitiis consu-
laribus habeatur; nisi alterum consulem utique ex plebe

feri necesse sit, neminem fore. An iam memoria exisse, 5
quum tribunos militum idcirco potius quam consules creari
placuisset, ut et plebeiis pateret summus honos, quattuor
et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum militum
creatum esse? Quid crederent? duobusne in locis sua 6
voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tri-
bunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consulatum
viam fieri passuros, qui tribunatum saeptum tam diu habu-
erint? Lege obtinendum esse, quod comitiis per gratiam 7
nequeat, et seponendum extra certamen alterum consulatum,
ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine relictus
praemium semper potentioris futurus sit. Nec iam posse 8
dici id, quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in plebeiis
idoneos viros ad curules magistratus. Numquid enim so-
cordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post P.
Licinii Calvi tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit,
quam per eos annos gesta sit, quibus praeter patricos nemo
tribunus militum fuerit? quin contra patricos aliquot dam- 9
natos post tribunatum, neminem plebeium. Quaestores
quoque, sicut tribunos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe
coelectos creari, nec ullius eorum populum Romanum paeni-
tuisse. Consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem 10
libertatis, id columen. Si eo perventum sit, tum populum
Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem libertatem
suam existimaturum; quippe ex illa die in plebem ventura 11
omnia, quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem,
gloriam belli, genus, nobilitatem, magna ipsis fruenda, maiora
liberis relinquenda. Huius generis orationes ubi accipi 12
videre, novam rogationem promulgant, ut pro duumviris sacris
faciundis decemviri creentur, ita ut pars ex plebe, pars ex
patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia in ad-
ventum eius exercitus differunt, qui Velitras obsidebat.

38. Prius circumactus est annus, quam a Velitris reduce-

rentur legiones; ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos utique, qui legum latores erant, plebes reficiebat. Tribuni militum creati T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius. Principio statim anni ad ultimam dimicationem de legibus ventum; et quum tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque [ad] civem decurrunt. Dictatorem dici placet; dicitur M. Furius Camillus, qui magistrum equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. Legum quoque latores adversus tantum apparatus adversariorum et ipsi causam plebis ingentibus animis armant, concilioque plebis indicto, tribus ad suffragium vocant. Quum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus irae minarumque consedisset, atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque, et, quanto iure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum latorumque, et 'Uti rogas' primae tribus dicerent, tum Camillus 'Quando quidem' inquit, 'Quirites, iam vos tribunicia libido, non potestas regit, et intercessionem, secessione quondam plebis partam, vobis eadem vi facitis irritam, qua peperistis, non rei publicae magis universae quam vestra causa dictator intercessioni adero eversumque vestrum auxilium imperio tutabor. Itaque si C. Licinius et L. Sextius intercessioni collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium magistratum inseram concilio plebis; si adversus intercessionem tanquam captae civitati leges imponere tendent, vim tribuniciam a se ipsa dissolvi non patiar.' Adversus ea quum contemptum tribuni plebis rem nihilo segnius peragerent, tum percitus ira Camillus lictores, qui de medio plebem emoverent, misit et addidit minas, si pergerent, sacramento omnes iuniores adacturum exercitumque extemplo ex urbe educturum.

Terrorem ingentem incusserat plebi; ducibus plebis accendit 9
magis certamine animos quam minuit. Sed re neutro in-
clinata magistratu se abdicavit, seu quia vitio creatus erat,
ut scripsere quidam, seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad
plebem idque plebs scivit, ut, si M. Furius pro dictatore quid
egisset, quingentum millium ei multa esset; sed auspiciis 10
magis quam novi exempli rogatione deterritum ut potius
credam, quum ipsius viri facit ingenium, tum quod ei suf-
fectus est extemplo P. Manlius dictator, quem quid creari
attinebat ad id certamen, quo M. Furius victus esset? et 11
quod eundem M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit,
haud sine pudore certe fractum priore anno in se imperium
repetiturum; simul quod eo tempore, quo promulgatum de 12
multa eius traditur, aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem
cogi videbat, obsistere potuit aut ne illas quidem, propter 13
quas et haec lata erat, impedire, et quod usque ad memoriam
nostram tribuniciis consularibusque certatum viribus est,
dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

39. Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a
Manlio initam ab tribunis velut per interregnum concilio
plebis habito, apparuit, quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae
latoribus graviora essent. Nam de fenore atque agro roga- 2
tiones iuebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta
utraque res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia simul consulere
plebem dixissent. P. Manlius deinde dictator rem in causam 3
plebis inclinavit, C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat,
magistro equitum de plebe dicto. Id aegre patres passos 4
accipio; dictatorem propinqua cognatione Licinii se apud
patres excusare solitum, simul negantem, magistri equitum
maius quam tribuni consularis imperium esse. Licinius 5
Sextiusque, quum tribunorum plebi creandorum indicta
comitia essent, ita se gerere, ut negando, iam sibi velle
continuari honorem, acerrime accenderent ad id, quod

- 6 dissimulando petebant, plebem. Nonum se annum iam velut in acie adversus optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento stare. Consenuisse iam secum et rogationes promulgatas et vim omnem tribuniciae potestatis.
- 7 Primo intercessionem collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde ablegatione iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum; postremo dictatorium fulmen in se intentatum. Iam nec collegas nec bellum nec dictatorem obstare, quippe qui etiam omen plebeio consuli magistro equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit; se ipsam plebem et commoda morari sua. Liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab iniustis possessoribus extemplo, si velit, habere posse. Quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo aestimatos, si inter accipiendas de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum incidant? Non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare, ut ipse fenore levetur et in agrum iniuria possessum a potentibus inducatur, per quos ea consecutus sit, senes tribunicios non sine honore tantum, sed etiam sine spe honoris relinquat.
- 11 Proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud animos, quid vellent, deinde comitiis tribuniciiis declararent voluntatem. Si coniuncte ferri ab se promulgatas rogationes vellent, esse, quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis; perluros enim, quae promulgaverint; sin, quod cuique privatim opus sit, id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea, quae promulgata sint, habituros.

40. Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum quum prae indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque inde ceteros patrum defixisset, App. Claudius Crassus, nepos decemviri, dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum processisse et locutus in hanc fere sententiam esse. 'Neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum familiae nostrae semper obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae genti iam inde ab

initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse. Quorum alterum 4 neque nego neque infitias eo, nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse, ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium, inter quas nos esse voluistis, dici vere posset; illud alterum 5 pro me maioribusque meis contendere ausim, Quirites, nisi, quae pro universa re publica fiant, ea plebi tanquam aliam incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos neque in magistratibus, quod incommodum plebi esset, scientes fecisse, nec ullum factum dictumve nostrum contra utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam contra voluntatem fuerint, vere referri posse. An hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim 6 nec ex patricio sanguine ortus, sed unus Quiritium quilibet, qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in libera civitate sciam, reticere possim, L. illum Sextium et C. 7 Licinium, perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos, tantum licentiae novem annis, quibus regnant, sumpsisse, ut vobis negent potestatem liberam suffragii, non in comitiis, non in legibus iubendis, se permissuros esse? 'Sub condicione' inquit, 8 'nos reficietis decimum tribunos.' Quid est aliud dicere: 'Quod petunt alii, nos adeo fastidimus, ut sine mercede magna non accipiamus?' Sed quae tandem ista merces est, 9 qua vos semper tribunos plebis habeamus? 'Ut rogationes' inquit 'nostras, seu placent seu displicent, seu utiles seu inutiles sunt, omnes coniunctim accipiat.' Obsecro 10 vos, Tarquinii tribuni plebis, putate me ex media contione unum civem succlamare: 'Bona venia vestra liceat ex his rogationibus legere, quas salubres nobis censemus esse, antiquare alias.' 'Non' inquit, 'licebit, ut de fenore atque 11 agris, quod ad vos omnes pertinet, iubeas, et hoc portentum non fiat in urbe Romana, uti L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium consules, quod indignaris, quod abominaris,

12 videas; aut omnia accipe, aut nihil fero.' Ut si quis ei, quem urgeat fames, venenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo, quod vitale sit, iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. Ergo si esset libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes succlamassent: 'Abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus tuis'? Quid? si tu non tuleris, quod com-
13 modum est populo accipere, nemo erit, qui ferat? Illud si quis patricius, si quis, quod illi volunt invidiosius esse, Claudius diceret: 'Aut omnia accipite, aut nihil fero,' quis
14 vestrum, Quirites, ferret? Nunquamne vos res potius quam auctores spectabitis, sed omnia semper, quae magistratus ille dicet, secundis auribus, quae ab nostrum quo dicentur,
15 adversis accipietis? At hercule sermo est minime civilis; quid? rogatio qualis est, quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? Sermoni, quirites, simillima. 'Consules' inquit,
16 'rogo, ne vobis, quos velitis, facere liceat.' An aliter rogat, qui utique alterum ex plebe fieri consulem iubet nec duos
17 patricios creandi potestatem vobis permittit? Si hodie bella sint, quale Etruscum fuit, quum Porsinna Ianiculum insedit, quale Gallicum modo, quum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium erant, et consulatum cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex patribus L. ille Sextius peteret, possetisne
18 repulsa dimicare? Hocine est in commune honores vocare, ut duos plebeios fieri consules liceat, duos patricios non liceat? et alterum ex plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire liceat? Quenam ista societas, quanam consortio est? Parum est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis, nisi partem petendo totum trax-
19 eris? 'Timeo' inquit, 'ne, si duos licebit creari patricios, neminem creetis plebeium.' Quid est dicere aliud: 'Quia indignos vestra voluntate creaturi non estis, necessitatem
20 vobis creandi, quos non vultis, imponam?' Quid sequitur,

nisi ut ne beneficium quidem debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius, et lege se, non suffragio creatum dicat?

41. Quomodo extorqueant, non quomodo petant honores, quaerunt; et ita maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem debeant; et occasionibus potius quam virtute petere honores malunt. Est aliquis, qui se inspicere, aestimari fastidiat, qui certos sibi uni honores inter dimicantes competitores aequum censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra necessaria suffragia pro voluntariis et serva pro liberis faciat. Omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in 3 perpetua potestate tanquam regum in Capitolio numeratis; quis est hodie in civitate tam humilis, cui non via ad consulatum facilius per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis nostris fiat? si quidem nos ne quum volueritis quidem creare interdum poteritis, istos, etiamsi nolueritis, necesse sit. De indignitate satis dictum est. At enim dignitas ad ho- 4 mines pertinet; quid de religionibus atque auspiciis, quae propria deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est, loquar? Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace, domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est, qui ignoret? Penes quos igitur sunt auspicia more maiorum? 5 Nempe penes patres; nam plebeius quidem magistratus nullus auspiciis creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, 6 ut non solum, quos populus creat patricios magistratus, non aliter quam auspiciis creetur, sed nos quoque ipsi sine suffragio populi auspiciis interregem prodamus, et privati auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem habent. Quid igitur aliud quam tollit ex civitate auspicia, 7 qui plebeios consules creando a patribus, qui soli ea habere possunt, aufert? Eludant nunc licet religiones: quid enim 8 esse, si pulli non pascantur, si ex cavea tardius exierint, si occecinerit avis? Parva sunt haec; sed parva ista non

contemnendo maiores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt;
9 nunc nos, tanquam iam nihil pace deorum opus sit, omnes
caerimonias polluimus. Vulgo ergo pontifices, augures,
sacrificuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem Dialem, dummodo
homo sit, imponamus; tradamus ancilia, penetralia, deos
10 deorumque curam, quibus nefas est; non leges auspicato
ferantur, non magistratus creentur; nec centuriatis nec
curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant; Sextius et Licinius
tanquam Romulus ac Tatius in urbe Romana regnent, quia
11 pecunias alienas, quia agros dona dant. Tanta dulcedo
est ex alienis fortunis praedandi, nec in mentem venit,
altera lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo finibus
dominos, altera fidem abrogari, cum qua omnis humana
12 societas tollitur? Omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas
censeo istas rogationes. Quod faxitis, deos velim fortu-
nare.'

42. Oratio Appii ad id modo valuit, ut tempus rogationum
2 iubendarum proferretur. Refecti decimum iidem tribuni,
Sextius et Licinius, de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de
plebe creandis legem pertulere. Creati quinque patrum,
quinque plebis, graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum
3 videbatur. Hac victoria contenta plebes cessit patribus, ut
in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum
crearentur. Creati A. et M. Cornelii iterum, M. Geganius,
4 P. Manlius, L. Veturius, P. Valerius sextum. Quum praeter
Velitrarum obsidionem, tardi magis rem exitus quam dubii,
quietae externae res Romanis essent, fama repens belli
Gallici allata perpulit civitatem, ut M. Furius dictator quin-
tum diceretur. Is T. Quinctium Pennum magistrum equitum
5 dixit. Bellatum cum Gallis eo anno circa Anienem flumen,
auctor est Claudius, inclitamque in ponte pugnam, qua
T. Manlius Gallum, cum quo provocatus manus conseruit,
in conspectu duorum exercituum caesum torque spoliavit,

tum pugnatam. Pluribus auctoribus magis adducor ut credam, decem haud minus post annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro cum Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa collata. Nec dubia nec difficilis Romanis, quanquam in-
gentem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. Multa millia barbarorum in acie, multa captis castris caesa; palati alii, Apuliam maxime petentes, quum fuga se longinqua, tum quod passim eos simul pavor terrorque distulerant, ab hoste [sese] tutati sunt. Dictatori consensu patrum plebisque triumphus decretus. Vixdum 9 perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio excepit, et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus. Et ne is quidem finis certaminum fuit. Quia patricii 10 se auctores futuros negabant, prope secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium certaminum venit, quum 11 tandem per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt, concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno, qui ius in urbe diceret, ex patribus creando. Ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam 12 redactis ordinibus, quum dignam eam rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque id, si quando unquam alias, deum immortalium fore, ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur, recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, con- 13 clamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus, se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent. Quibus quum ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum 14 senatus consultum, ut duo viros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

LIBER VII.

1. Annus hic erit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis
novis duobus magistratibus, praetura et curuli aedilitate; hos
sibi patricii quaesivere honores pro concesso plebi altero
2 consulatu. Plebes consulatum L. Sextio, cuius lege partus
erat, dedit; patres praeturam Sp. Furio M. filio Camillo,
aedilitatem Cn. Quinctio Capitolino et P. Cornelio Scipioni,
suarum gentium viris, gratia campestri ceperunt. L. Sextio
3 collega ex patribus datus L. Aemilius Mamercinus. Prin-
cipio anni et de Gallis, quos primo palatos per Apuliam
congregari iam fama erat, et de Hernicorum defectione
4 agitata mentio. Quum de industria omnia, ne quid per ple-
beium consulem ageretur, proferrentur, silentium omnium
5 rerum ac iustitio simile otium fuit, nisi quod, non patientibus
tacitum tribunis, quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricos
magistratus curulibus sellis praetextatos tanquam consules
6 sedentes nobilitas sibi sumpsisset, praetorem quidem etiam
iura reddentem et collegam consulibus atque iisdem auspiciis
creatum, verecundia inde imposita est senatui ex patribus
iubendi aediles curules creari. Primo, ut alternis annis ex
7 plebe fierent, convenerat; postea promiscuum fuit. Inde
L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus, et ab seditione et
a bello quietis rebus, ne quando a metu ac periculis vaca-
8 rent, pestilentia ingens orta. Censorem, aedilem curulem,
tres tribunos plebis mortuos ferunt, pro portione et ex multi-
tudine alia multa funera fuisse; maximeque eam pestilentiam
insignem mors quamvis matura, tamen acerba M. Furii fecit.
9 Fuit enim vere vir unicus in omni fortuna, princeps pace

belloque, priusquam exsulatum iret, clarior in exsilio vel desiderio civitatis, quae capta absentis imploravit opem, vel felicitate, qua restitutus in patriam secum patriam ipsam restituit; par deinde per quinque et viginti annos (tot enim 10 postea vixit) titulo tantae gloriae fuit, dignusque habitus, quem secundum a Romulo conditorem urbis Romanae ferrent.

2. Et hoc et insequenti anno, C. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licinio Stolone consulibus, pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dignum 2 memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum exposcendae causa tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium fuit; et quum 3 vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scenici, nova res bellicoso populo (nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat), inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur. Ceterum 4 parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde 5 eos iuventus, simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus, coepere, nec absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta 6 itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu 7 similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius post aliquot annos, 8 qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum 9 actor, dicitur, quum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem quum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediabat. Inde ad manum cantari 10

histrionibus coeptum diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci re-
11 licta. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco
res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus,
histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipsa inter se more antiquo
ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; quae exodia postea
appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt,
12 quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus,
nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est; eo institutum manet,
ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia,
13 tanquam expertes artis ludicrae, faciant. Inter aliarum parva
principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa
est, ut appareret, quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opu-
lentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

3. Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis re-
ligionibus datum aut religione animos aut corpora morbis
2 levavit; quin etiam, quum medios forte ludos circus Tiberi
superfuso irrigatus impedisset, id vero, velut aversis iam
dis aspernantibusque placamina irae, terrorem ingentem fecit.
3 Itaque Cn. Genucio, L. Aemilio Mamercino iterum con-
sulibus, quum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam
corpora morbi afficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria
dicitur, pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo seda-
4 tam. Ea religione adductus senatus dictatorem clavi figendi
causa dici iussit; dictus L. Manlius Imperiosus L. Pinarium
5 magistrum equitum dixit. Lex vetusta est, priscis litteris
verbisque scripta, ut, qui praetor maximus sit, idibus Sep-
tembribus clavum pangat; fixa fuit dextro lateri aedis Iovis
6 optimi maximi, ex qua parte Minervae templum est. Eum
clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam
numeri annorum fuisse ferunt, eoque Minervae templo di-
7 catam legem, quia numerus Minervae inventum sit. Vul-
siniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo
Nortiae, Etruscae deae, comparere, diligens talium monu-

mentorū auctor Cincius affirmat. Horatius consul et legem 8
et templum Iovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges
exactos; a consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia maius
imperium erat, sollemne clavi figendi translatum est. Inter-
misso deinde more, digna etiam per se visa res, propter
quam dictator crearetur. Qua de causa creatus L. Man- 9
lius, perinde ac rei gerendae ac non solvendae religionis
gratia creatus esset, bellum Hernicum affectans dilectu
acerbo iuventutem agitavit; tandemque omnibus in eum
tribunis plebis coortis, seu vi seu verecundia victus, dictatura
abiit.

4. Neque eo minus principio insequentis anni, Q. Ser-
vilio Ahala, L. Genucio consulibus, dies Manlio dicitur a
M. Pomponio tribuno plebis. Acerbitas in dilectu, non 2
damno modo civium, sed etiam laceratione corporum lata,
partim virgis caesis, qui ad nomina non respondissent, par-
tim in vincla ductis, invisā erat, et ante omnia invisum 3
ipsum ingenium atrox cognomenque Imperiosi, grave liberae
civitati, ab ostentatione saevitiae adscitum, quam non magis
in alienis quam in proximis ac sanguine ipse suo exerceret.
Criminique ei tribunus inter cetera dabat, quod filium iuve- 4
nem, nullius probri compertum, extorrem urbe, domo, pe-
natibus, foro, luce, congressu aequalium prohibitum, in opus
servile, prope in carcerem atque in ergastulum dederit, ubi 5
summo loco natus dictatorius iuvenis quotidiana miseria
disceret, vere imperioso patre se natum esse. At quam ob
noxam? Quia infacundior sit et lingua impromptus: quod 6
naturae damnum utrum nutriendum patri, si quicquam in
eo humani esset, an castigandum ac vexatione insigne fa-
ciendum fuisse? Ne mutas quidem bestias minus alere ac
fovere, si quid ex progenie sua parum prosperum sit; at 7
hercule L. Manlium malum malo augere filii et tarditatem
ingenii insuper premere et, si quid in eo exiguum naturalis

vigoris sit, id extinguere vita agresti et rustico cultu inter pecudes habendo.

5. Omnium potius his criminationibus quam ipsius iuvenis irritatus est animus ; quin contra, se quoque parenti causam
2 invidiae atque criminum esse, aegre passus, ut omnes di hominesque scirent, se parenti opem latam quam inimicis eius malle, capit consilium rudis quidem atque agrestis animi, sed, quanquam non civilis exempli, tamen pietate
3 laudabile. Inscientibus cunctis, cultro succinctus mane in urbem atque a porta domum confestim ad M. Pomponium tribunum pergit ; ianitori, opus esse sibi domino eius convento extemplo, ait ; nuntiaret, T. Manlium L. filium esse.
4 Mox introductus (etenim percitum ira in patrem spes erat aut criminis aliquid novi aut consilii ad rem agendam deferre), salute accepta redditaque, esse ait, quae cum eo
5 agere arbitris remotis velit. Procul inde omnibus abire iussis, cultrum stringit et super lectum stans ferro intento, nisi in quae ipse concepisset verba iuraret, se patris eius accusandi causa concilium plebis nunquam habiturum, se
6 eum extemplo transfixurum minatur. Pavidus tribunus, quippe qui ferrum ante oculos micare, se solum, inermem, illum praevalidum iuvenem et, quod haud minus timendum erat, stolide ferocem viribus suis cerneret, adiurat in quae adactus est verba, et prae se deinde tulit, ea vi subactum se
7 incepto destitisse. Nec, perinde ut maluisset plebes, sibi suffragii ferendi de tam crudeli et superbo reo potestatem fieri, ita aegre habuit, filium id pro parente ausum ; eoque id laudabilius erat, quod animum eius tanta acerbitas patria
8 nihil a pietate avertisset. Itaque non patri modo remissa causae dictio est, sed ipsi etiam adolescenti ea res honori
9 fuit, et quum eo anno primum placuisset, tribunos militum ad legiones suffragio fieri (nam [et] antea, sicut nunc, quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant), secundum in

sex locis tenuit, nullis domi militiaeque ad conciliandam gratiam meritis, ut qui rure et procul coetu hominum iuventam egisset.

6. Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia, forum medium ferme specu vasto collapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem coniectu terrae, quum 2 pro se quisque gereret, expleri potuisse, priusquam deum monitu quaeri coeptum, quo plurimum populus Romanus posset; id enim illi loco dicandum vates canebant, si rem 3 publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent. Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt dubitantes, an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset, et silentio facto, templa deorum immortalium, quae 4 foro imminet, Capitoliumque intuentem et manus nunc in caelum, nunc in patentes terrae hiatus ad deos manes porrigentem, se devovisse; equoque deinde quam poterat maxime 5 exornato insidentem, armatum se in specum immisisse, doneque ac fruges super eum a multitudine virorum ac mulierum congestas, lacumque Curtium non ab antiquo illo T. Tatii milite Curtio Mettione, sed ab hoc appellatum. Cura 6 non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; et lacus nomen ab hac recentiore insignitius fabula est. Post tanti prodigii procurationem, eodem anno de Hernicis 7 consultus senatus, quum fetiales ad res repetendas nequicquam misisset, primo quoque die ferendum ad populum de bello indicendo Hernicis censuit, populusque id bellum frequens iussit. L. Genucio consuli ea provincia sorte evenit. In exspectatione civitas erat, quod primus ille de plebe 8 consul bellum suis auspiciis gesturus esset, perinde ut evenisset res, ita communicatos honores pro bene aut secus consulto habitura. Forte ita tulit casus, ut Genucius ad 9 hostes magno conatu profectus in insidias praecipitaret, et,

legionibus necopinato pavore fusis, consul circumventus ab
10 insciis, quem interceptissent, occideretur. Quod ubi est Ro-
mam nuntiatum, nequaquam tantum publica calamitate
maesti patres, quantum feroces infelici consulis plebei ductu,
fremunt omnibus locis: irent, crearent consules ex plebe,
11 transferrent auspicia, quo nefas esset; potuisse patres ple-
biscito pelli honoribus suis; num etiam in deos immortales
inauspicatam legem valuisse? vindicasse ipsos suum numen,
sua auspicia, quae ut primum contacta sint ab eo, a quo
nec ius nec fas fuerit, deletum cum duce exercitum docu-
mento fuisse, ne deinde turbato gentium iure comitia
12 haberentur. His vocibus curia et forum personat. App.
Claudium, quia dissuaserat legem, maiore nunc auctoritate
eventum reprehensi ab se consilii incusantem, dictatorem
consensu patriciorum Servilius consul dicit, dilectusque et
iustitium indictum.

7. Priusquam dictator legionesque novae in Hernicos
venirent, ductu C. Sulpicii legati res per occasionem gesta
2 egregie est. In Hernicos morte consulis contemptim ad
castra Romana cum haud dubia expugnandi spe succedentes,
hortante legato et plenis irae atque indignitatis militum
animis, eruptio est facta. Multum ab spe adeundi valli res
Hernicis afuit; adeo turbatis inde ordinibus abscessere.
3 Dictatoris deinde adventu novus veteri exercitus iungitur
et copiae duplicantur; et pro contione dictator laudibus
legati militumque, quorum virtute castra defensa erant, simul
audientibus laudes meritas tollit animos, simul ceteros ad
4 aemulandas virtutes acuit. Neque segnius ad hostes bellum
apparatur, qui et parti ante decoris memores neque ignari
auctarum virium hostis suas quoque vires augment. Omne
Hernicum nomen, omnis militaris aetas excitur; quadrin-
genariae octo cohortes, lecta robora virorum, scribuntur.
5 Hunc eximium florem iuventutis eo etiam, quod, ut duplex

acciperent stipendium, decreverant, spei animorumque implevere; immunes quoque operum militarium erant, ut in unum pugnae laborem reservati plus sibi quam pro virili parte annitendum scirent; extra ordinem etiam in acie 6 locati, quo conspectior virtus esset. Duum millium planities castra Romana ab Hernicis dirimebat; ibi pari ferme utrinque spatio in medio pugnatum est. Primo stetit ambigua 7 spe pugna, nequicquam saepe conatis equitibus Romanis impetu turbare hostium aciem. Postquam equestris pugna 8 effectum quam conatibus vanior erat, consulto prius dictatore equites, permissu deinde eius relictis equis, clamore ingenti provolant ante signa et novam integrant pugnam; neque 9 sustineri poterant, ni extraordinariae cohortes pari corporum animorumque robore se obiecissent.

8. Tunc inter primores duorum populorum res geritur; quicquid hinc aut illinc communis Mars belli aufert, multiplex quam pro numero damnum est. Vulgus aliud armatorum, velut delegata primoribus pugna, eventum suum in virtute aliena ponit. Multi utrinque cadunt, plures vulnera accipiunt; tandem equites alius alium increpantes, 2 quid deinde restaret, quaerendo, si neque ex equis pepulissent hostem neque pedites quicquam momenti facerent, quam tertiam expectarent pugnam, quid ante signa feroces prosiluissent et alieno pugnarent loco, his inter se vocibus concitati, clamore renovato inferunt pedem, et 3 primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt, postremo iam haud dubie avertunt; neque, tam vires pares 4 quae superaverit res, facile dictum est, nisi quod perpetua fortuna utriusque populi et extollere animos et minuire potuit. Usque ad castra fugientes Hernicos Romanus se- 5 quitur; castrorum oppugnatione, quia serum erat diei, abstinere. Diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem, ne ante meridiem signum dare posset; eo in noctem tractum erat

6 certamen. Postero die deserta fuga castra Hernicorum,
et saucii relictis quidam inventi; agmenque fugientium ab
Signinis, quum praeter moenia eorum infrequentia con-
specta signa essent, fusum ac per agros trepida fuga pa-
7 latum est. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit; quarta
pars militum amissa, et, ubi haud minus iacturae fuit, aliquot
equites Romani cecidere.

9. Insequenti anno quum C. Sulpicius et C. Licinius
Calvus consules in Hernicos exercitum duxissent, neque
inventis in agro hostibus, Ferentinum urbem eorum vi ce-
2 pissent, revertentibus inde eis Tiburtes portas clausere. Ea
ultima fuit causa, quum multae ante querimoniae ultro citro-
que iactatae essent, cur per fetiales rebus repetitis bellum
3 Tiburti populo indiceretur. Dictatorem T. Quinctium Pen-
num eo anno fuisse, satis constat, et magistrum equitum
4 Ser. Cornelium Maluginensem. Macer Licinius comitiorum
habendorum causa et ab Licinio consule dictum scribit,
quia, collega comitia bello praeferre festinante, ut continu-
aret consulatum, obviam eundum pravae cupiditati fuerit.
5 Quaesita ea propriae familiae laus leviolem auctorem Lici-
nium facit; quum mentionem eius rei in vetustioribus anna-
libus nullam inveniam, magis, ut belli Gallici causa dicta-
6 torem creatum arbitrer, inclinatur animus. Eo certe anno
Galli ad tertium lapidem Salaria via trans pontem Anienis
castra habuere. Dictator quum tumultus Gallici causa iu-
stitium edixisset, omnes iuniores sacramento adegit, ingen-
tique exercitu ab urbe profectus in citiore ripa Anienis
7 castra posuit. Pons in medio erat, neutris eum rumpentibus,
ne timoris indicium esset. Proelia de occupando ponte
crebra erant, nec, qui poterentur, incertis viribus satis dis-
8 cerni poterat. Tum eximia corporis magnitudine in va-
cuum pontem Gallus processit et, quantum maxima voce
potuit, 'Quem nunc' inquit, 'Roma virum fortissimum habet,

procedat, age dum, ad pugnam, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat, utra gens bello sit melior.’

10. Diu inter primores iuvenum Romanorum silentium fuit, quum et abnuere certamen vererentur et praecipuam sortem periculi petere nollent; tum T. Manlius L. filius, 2 qui patrem a vexatione tribunicia vindicaverat, ex statione ad dictatorem pergit. ‘Iniussu tuo’ inquit, ‘imperator, extra ordinem nunquam pugnaverim, non si certam victoriam videam; si tu permittis, volo ego illi beluae ostendere, 3 quando adeo ferox praesultat hostium signis, me ex ea familia ortum, quae Gallorum agmen ex rupe Tarpeia deiecit.’ Tum dictator ‘Macte virtute’ inquit, ‘ac pietate 4 in patrem patriamque, T. Manli, esto. Perge et nomen Romanum invictum iuvantibus dis praesta.’ Armant inde 5 iuvenem aequales; pedestre scutum capit, Hispano cingitur gladio, ad propiorem habili pugnam. Armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolidè laetum et (quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est) linguam etiam ab irrisu exserentem producunt. Recipiunt inde se ad stationem, 6 et duo in medio armati, spectaculi magis more quam lege belli, destituuntur, nequaquam visu ac specie aestimantibus pares. Corpus alteri magnitudine eximium, 7 versicolori veste pictisque et auro caelatis refulgens armis; media in altero militaris statura, modicaque in armis habilibus magis quam decoris species; non cantus, non exsultatio armorumque agitatio vana, sed pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum; omnem ferociam in discrimen ipsum certaminis distulerat. Ubi constitere inter duas acies, 8 tot circa mortalium animis spe metuque pendentibus, Gallus velut moles superne imminens, proiecto laeva scuto, in advenientis arma hostis vanum caesim cum ingenti sonitu ensem deiecit; Romanus mucrone subrecto, quum scuto 10 scutum imum perculisset, totoque corpore interior periculo

vulneris factus insinuasset se inter corpus armaque, uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit et in
11 spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem. Iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit,
12 quem respersum cruore collo circumdedit suo. Defixerat pavor cum admiratione Gallos; Romani alacres ab statione obviam militi suo progressi, gratulantes laudantesque ad
13 dictatorem perducunt. Inter carminum prope *in* modum incondita quaedam militariter ioculantes Torquati cognomen auditum; celebratum deinde posteris etiam familiaeque honori fuit. Dictator coronam auream addidit donum, mirisque pro contione eam pugnam laudibus tulit.

11. Et hercule tanti ea ad universi belli eventum momenti dimicatio fuit, ut Gallorum exercitus proxima nocte, relictis trepide castris, in Tiburtem agrum atque inde, societate belli facta commeatuque benigne ab Tiburtibus adiutus, mox
2 in Campaniam transierit. Ea fuit causa, cur proximo anno C. Poetelius Balbus consul, quum collegae eius M. Fabio Ambusto Hernici provincia evenisset, adversus Tiburtes
3 iussu populi exercitum duceret. Ad quorum auxilium quum Galli ex Campania redissent, foedae populationes in Laviniano Tusculanoque et Albano agro haud dubie Tiburtibus
4 ducibus sunt factae, et, quum adversus Tiburtem hostem duce consule contenta res publica esset, Gallicus tumultus dictatorem creari coegit. Creatus Q. Servilius Ahala T. Quinctium magistrum equitum dixit, et ex auctoritate patrum, si prospere id bellum evenisset, ludos magnos vovit.
5 Dictator, ad continendos proprio bello Tiburtes consulari exercitu iusso manere, omnes iuniores, nullo detrectante
6 militiam, sacramento adegit. Pugnatum haud procul porta Collina est totius viribus urbis, in conspectu parentum coniugumque ac liberorum; quae magna etiam absentibus hortamenta animi tum subiecta oculis simul verecundia miseri-

cordiaque militem accendebant. Magna utrinque edita caede 7
 avertitur tandem acies Gallorum. Fuga Tibur sicut arcem
 belli Gallici petunt; palati a consule Poetelio haud procul
 Tibure excepti, egressis ad opem ferendam Tiburtibus,
 simul cum iis intra portas compelluntur. Egrege quum ab 8
 dictatore, tum ab consule res gesta est. Et consul alter
 Fabius proeliis primum parvis, postremo una insigni pugna,
 quum hostes totis adorti copiis essent, Hernicos devincit.
 Dictator, consulibus in senatu et apud populum magnifice 9
 collaudatis et suarum quoque rerum illis remisso honore,
 dictatura se abdicavit. Poetelius de Gallis Tiburtibusque
 geminum triumphum egit; Fabio satis visum, ut ovans
 urbem iniret. Irridere Poetelii triumphum Tiburtes: ubi 10
 enim eum secum acie conflixisse? Spectatores paucos fugae
 trepidationisque Gallorum extra portas egressos, postquam
 in se quoque fieri impetum viderint et sine discrimine obvios
 caedi, recepissee se intra urbem; eam rem triumpho dignam 11
 visam Romanis. Ne nimis mirum magnumque censerent
 tumultum exciere in hostium portis, maiorem ipsos trepi-
 dationem ante moenia sua visuros.

12. Itaque insequenti anno, M. Popillio Laenate, Cn.
 Manlio consulibus, primo silentio noctis ab Tibure agmine
 infesto profecti ad urbem Romam venerunt. Terrorem re- 2
 pente ex somno excitatis subita res et nocturnus pavor prae-
 buit, ad hoc multorum inscitia, qui aut unde hostes ad-
 venissent; conclamatum tamen celeriter ad arma est et 3
 portae stationibus murique praesidiis firmati. Et ubi prima
 lux mediocrem multitudinem ante moenia neque alium quam
 Tiburtem hostem ostendit, duabus portis egressi consules
 utrinque aciem subeuntium iam muros aggrediuntur, ap- 4
 paruitque, occasione magis quam virtute fretos venisse;
 adeo vix primum impetum Romanorum sustinuerunt. Quin
 etiam bono fuisse Romanis adventum eorum constabat,

orientemque iam seditionem inter patres et plebem metu
5 tam propinqui belli compressam. Alius adventus hos-
6 tium fuit †proximo bello agris quam terribilior urbi. Po-
pulabundi Tarquinienses fines Romanos, maxime qua ex
parte Etruriam adiacent, peragravere, rebusque nequic-
quam repetitis, novi consules iis C. Fabius et C. Plau-
7 tius iussu populi bellum indixere; Fabioque ea provincia,
crebrescebat; sed inter multos terrores solatio fuit pax
Latinis petentibus data et magna vis militum ab iis ex
foedere vetusto, quod multis intermiserant annis, accepta.
8 Quo praesidio quum fulta res Romana esset, levius fuit,
quod Gallos mox Praeneste venisse atque inde circa
9 Pedum consedissee auditum est. Dictatorem dici C. Sul-
picium placuit; consul ad id accitus C. Plautius dixit;
magister equitum dictatori additus M. Valerius. Hi robor
militum ex duobus consularibus exercitibus electa adversus
10 Gallos duxerunt. Lentius id aliquanto bellum, quam parti
utrique placebat, fuit. Quum primo Galli tantum avidi cer-
taminis fuissent, deinde Romanus miles ruendo in arma ac
dimicationem aliquantum Gallicam ferociam vinceret, dicta-
11 tori nequiquam placebat, quando nulla cogeret res, fortunae
se committere adversus hostem, quem tempus deteriorem
in dies [et] locis alienis faceret sine praeparato commeatu,
sine firmo munimento morantem, ad hoc iis corporibus
animisque, quorum omnis in impetu vis esset, parva eadem
12 languesceret mora. His consiliis dictator bellum trahebat,
gravemque edixerat poenam, si quis iniussu in hostem pug-
nasset. Milites aegre id patientes primo in stationibus
vigiliisque inter se dictatorem sermonibus carpere, interdum
patres communiter increpare, quod non iussissent per con-
13 sules geri bellum: electum esse eximium imperatorem, uni-
cum ducem, qui nihil agenti sibi de caelo devolaturam in

sinum victoriam censeat. Eadem deinde haec interdiu propalam ac ferociora his iactare : se iniussu imperatoris aut dimicatu-
ros aut agmine Romam ituros. Immiscerique militibus centuriones, nec in citculis modo fremere, sed iam in
principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi, atque
in contionis magnitudinem crescere turba, et vociferari ex
omnibus locis, ut extemplo ad dictatorem iretur ; verba
pro exercitu faceret Sex. Tullius, ut virtute eius dignum
esset.

13. Septimum primum pilum iam Tullius ducebat, neque
erat in exercitu, qui quidem pedestria stipendia fecisset, vir
factis nobilior. Is praecedens militum agmen ad tribunal 2
pergit, mirantique Sulpicio non turbam magis quam turbae
principem Tullium, imperiis obedientissimum militem, ' Si 3
licet, dictator' inquit, ' condemnatum se universus exercitus
a te ignaviae ratus et prope ignominiae causa destitutum
sine armis, oravit me, ut suam causam apud te agerem.
Equidem, sicubi loco cessum, si terga data hosti, si signa 4
foede amissa obici nobis possent, tamen hoc a te impetrari
aequum censerem, ut nos virtute culpam nostram corrigere
et abolere flagitii memoriam nova gloria patereris. Etiam 5
ad Aliam fusae legiones eandem, quam per pavorem amiserant,
patriam profectae postea a Veiis virtute recuperavere.
Nobis deum benignitate, felicitate tua populique Romani,
et res et gloria est integra ; quanquam de gloria vix dicere 6
ausim, si nos et hostes haud secus quam feminas abditos
intra vallum omnibus contumeliis eludunt, et tu imperator
noster, quod aegrius patimur, exercitum tuum sine animis,
sine armis, sine manibus iudicas esse et, priusquam expertus
nos esses, de nobis ita desperasti, ut te mancorum ac debili-
um ducem iudicares esse. Quid enim aliud esse causae 7
credamus, cur veteranus dux, fortissimus bello, compressis,
quod aiunt, manibus sedeas ? Utcunque enim se habet res,

te de nostra virtute dubitasse videri quam nos de tua verius
8 est. Sin autem non tuum istuc, sed publicum est consilium,
et consensus aliqui patrum, non Gallicum bellum nos ab
urbe, a penetibus nostris ablegatos tenet, quaeso, ut ea,
quae dicam, non a militibus imperatori dicta censeas, sed
a plebe patribus (quae si, ut vos vestra habeatis consilia, sic
se sua habituram dicat, quis tandem succenseat?) milites nos
9 esse, non servos vestros, ad bellum, non in exsilium missos;
si quis det signum, in aciem educat, ut viris ac Romanis
dignum sit, pugnatos; si nihil armis opus sit, otium Romae
10 potius quam in castris acturos. Haec dicta sint patribus;
te, imperator, milites tui oramus, ut nobis pugnandi copiam
facias; quum vincere cupimus, tum te duce vincere, tibi
lauream insignem deferre, tecum triumphantes urbem inire,
tuum sequentes curram Iovis optimi maximi templum gra-
11 tantes ovantesque adire.' Orationem Tullii exceperunt
preces multitudinis, et undique, ut signum daret, ut capere
arma iuberet, clamabant.

14. Dictator quanquam rem bonam exemplo haud pro-
babili actam censebat, tamen facturum, quod milites vellent,
se recepit, Tulliumque secreto, quaenam haec res sit aut
2 quo acta more, percontatur. Tullius magno opere a dicta-
tore petere, ne se oblitum disciplinae militaris, ne sui neve
imperatoriae maiestatis crederet; multitudini concitatae, quae
ferme auctoribus similis esset, non subtraxisse se ducem,
ne quis alius, quales mota creare multitudo soleret, exsisteret;
3 nam se quidem nihil non arbitrio imperatoris acturum. Illi
quoque tamen videndum magno opere esse, ut exercitum in
potestate haberet; differri non posse adeo concitados animos;
ipsos sibi locum ac tempus pugnandi sumpturos, si ab impe-
4 ratore non detur. Dum haec loquuntur, iumenta forte pas-
centia extra vallum Gallo abigenti duo milites Romani ade-
merunt. In eos saxa coniecta a Gallis; deinde ab Romana

statione clamor ortus ac procursum utrinque est. Iamque haud 5
procul iusto proelio res erat, ni celeriter diremptum certamen
per centuriones esset; affirmata certe eo casu Tullii apud dic-
tatores fides est; nec recipiente iam dilationem re, in posterum
diem edicatur acie pugnatos. Dictator tamen, ut qui magis 6
animis quam viribus fretus ad certamen descenderet, omnia
circumspicere atque agitare coepit, ut arte aliqua terrorem
hostibus incuteret. Sollerti animo rem novam excogitat, qua
deinde multi nostri atque externi imperatores, nostra quoque 7
quidam aetate, usi sunt. Mulis strata detrahi iubet, binisque 7
tantum centunculis relictis, agasones partim captivis, partim
aegrorum armis ornatos imponit. His fere mille effectis 8
centum admiscet equites, et nocte super castra in montes
evadere ac silvis se occultare iubet neque inde ante moveri,
quam ab se acciperent signum. Ipse, ubi illuxit, in radi- 9
cibus montium extendere aciem coepit sedulo, ut adversus
montes consisteret hostis. Instructo vani terroris apparatu, 10
qui quidem terror plus paene veris viribus profuit, primo
credere duces Gallorum, non descensuros in aequum Ro-
manos; deinde, ubi degressos repente viderunt, et ipsi avidi
certaminis in proelium ruunt, priusque pugna coepit, quam
signum ab ducibus daretur.

15. Acrius invasere Galli dextrum cornu, neque sustineri
potuissent, ni forte eo loco dictator fuisset, Sex. Tullium
nomine increpans rogitansque, sicine pugnatos milites
spopondisset? ubi illi clamores sint arma poscentium, ubi 2
minae, iniussu imperatoris proelium inituros? En ipsum
imperatorem clara voce vocare ad proelium et ire armatum
ante prima signa; ecquis sequeretur eorum, qui modo duc-
turi fuerint, in castris feroces, in acie pavidi? Vera audie- 3
bant; itaque tantos pudor stimulos admovit, ut ruerent in
hostium tela alienatis a memoria periculi animis. Hic primo
impetus prope vecors turbavit hostes, eques deinde emissus

4 turbatos avertit. Ipse dictator postquam labantem una
parte vidit aciem, signa in laevum cornu confert, quo turbam
hostium congregari cernebat, et iis, qui in monte erant,
5 signum, quod convenerat, dedit. Ubi inde quoque novus
clamor ortus, et tendere obliquo monte ad castra Gallorum
visi sunt, tum metu, ne excluderentur, ommissa pugna est,
6 cursuque effuso ad castra ferebantur. Ubi quum occurrisset
eis M. Valerius magister equitum, qui, profigato dextro
cornu, obequitabat hostium munimentis, ad montes silvasque
7 vertunt fugam, plurimique ibi a fallaci equitum specie aga-
sonibusque excepti sunt; et eorum, quos pavor pertulerat
8 in silvas, atrox caedes post sedatum proelium fuit. Nec
alius post M. Furium quam C. Sulpicius iustiore de Gallis
egit triumphum. Auri quoque ex Gallicis spoliis satis mag-
num pondus saxo quadrato saeptum in Capitolio sacravit:
9 Eodem anno et a consulibus vario eventu bellatum; nam
Hernici a C. Plautio devicti subactique sunt, Fabius collega
eius incaute atque inconsulte adversus Tarquinienses pug-
10 navit. Nec in acie tantum ibi cladis acceptum, quam quod
trecentos septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses
immolarunt; qua foeditate supplicii aliquanto ignominia
11 populi Romani insignitior fuit. Accessit ad eam cladem et
vastatio Romani agri, quam Privernates, Veliterni deinde,
incursione repentina fecerunt. Eodem anno duae tribus,
12 Pomptina et Publilia, additae; ludi votivi, quos M. Furius
dictator voverat, facti; et de ambitu ab C. Poetelio tribuno
plebis, auctoribus patribus, tum primum ad populum latum
13 est; eaque rogatione novorum maxime hominum ambitio-
nem, qui nundinas et conciliabula obire soliti erant, com-
pressam credebant.

16. Haud aeque laeta patribus insequenti anno, C. Marcio,
Cn. Manlio consulibus, de unciario fenore a M. Duillio,
L. Menenio tribunis plebis rogatio est perlata; et plebs

aliquanto eam cupidius scivit. Ad bella nova priore anno 2
destinata Falisci quoque hostes exorti, duplici crimine, quod
et cum Tarquiniensibus iuventus eorum militaverat, et eos,
qui Falerios perfugerant, quum male pugnatum est, repeten-
tibus fetialibus Romanis non reddiderant. Ea provincia 3
Cn. Manlio obvenit. Marcius exercitum in agrum Privernat-
natem, integrum pace longinqua, induxit militemque praeda
implevit. Ad copiam rerum addidit munificentiam, quod
nihil in publicum secernendo augenti rem privatam militi
favit. Privernates quum ante moenia sua castris permunitis 4
consedissent, vocatis ad contionem militibus 'Castra nunc'
inquit, 'vobis hostium urbemque praedae do, si mihi pollice-
mini, vos fortiter in acie operam navaturos nec praedae
magis quam pugnae paratos esse.' Signum poscunt ingenti 5
clamore, celsique et spe haud dubia feroces in proelium
vadunt. Ibi ante signa Sex. Tullius, de quo ante dictum
est, exclamat 'Adspice, imperator' inquit, 'quemadmodum
exercitus tuus tibi promissa praestet,' piloque posito, stricto
gladio in hostem impetum facit. Sequuntur Tullium ante- 6
signani omnes, primoque impetu avertere hostem; fusum
inde ad oppidum persecuti, quum iam scalas moenibus
admovent, in deditionem urbem acceperunt. Triumphus de
Privernatibus actus. Ab altero consule nihil memorabile 7
gestum, nisi quod legem novo exemplo ad Sutrium in castris
tributum de vicesima eorum, qui manumitterentur, tulit. Pa-
tres, quia ea lege haud parvum vectigal inopi aerario additum
esset, auctores fuerunt; ceterum tribuni plebis, non tam 8
lege quam exemplo moti, ne quis postea populum sevocaret,
capite sanxerunt: nihil enim non per milites iuratos in con-
sulis verba, quamvis perniciosum populo, si id liceret, ferri
posse. Eodem anno C. Licinius Stolo a M. Popillio Laenate 9
sua lege decem millibus aeris est damnatus, quod mille

iugerum agri cum filio possideret, emancipandoque filium fraudem legi fecisset.

17. Novi consules inde, M. Fabius Ambustus iterum et M. Popillius Laenas iterum, duo bella habuere, facile alterum
2 cum Tiburtibus, quod Laenas gessit, qui, hoste in urbem compulso, agros vastavit; Falisci Tarquiniensesque alterum
3 consulem prima pugna fuderunt. Inde terror maximus fuit, quod sacerdotes eorum, facibus ardentibus anguibusque praelatis, incensu furiali militem Romanum insueta turbaverunt specie. Et tum quidem velut lymphati et attoniti munimentis
4 suis trepido agmine inciderunt; deinde, ubi consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana miracula paventes irridebant increpabantque, vertit animos repente pudor, et in ea ipsa,
5 quae fugerant, velut caeci ruebant. Discusso itaque vano apparatu hostium, quum in ipsos armatos se intulissent, averterunt totam aciem, castrisque etiam eo die potiti, praeda ingenti parta, victores reverterunt, militaribus iocis quum
6 apparatus hostium, tum suum increpantes pavorem. Concitatur deinde omne nomen Etruscum, et Tarquiniensibus Faliscisque ducibus ad Salinas perveniunt. Adversus eum terrorem dictator C. Marcius Rutilus primus de plebe dictus
7 magistrum equitum item de plebe C. Plautium dixit. Id vero patribus indignum videri, etiam dictaturam iam in promiscuo esse; omnique ope impediabant, ne quid dictatori ad id bellum decerneretur parareturve. Eo promptius cuncta
8 ferente dictatore populus iussit. Profectus ab urbe utraque parte Tiberis, ratibus exercitu, quocunque fama hostium ducebat, traiecto, multos populatores agrorum vagos palantes
9 oppressit; castra quoque necopinato aggressus cepit, et octo millibus hostium captis, ceteris aut caesis aut ex agro Romano fugatis, sine auctoritate patrum populi iussu triumphavit.
10 Quia nec per dictatorem plebeium nec per consulem comitia consularia haberi volebant, et alter consul Fabius bello re-

tinebatur, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges deinceps 11
Q. Servilius Ahala, M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius, C. Fabius,
C. Sulpicius, L. Aemilius, Q. Servilius, M. Fabius Ambustus.
In secundo interregno orta contentio est, quod duo patricii 12
consules creabantur, intercedentibusque tribunis interrex Fa-
bius aiebat, in duodecim tabulis legem esse, ut, quodcunque
postremum populus iussisset, id ius ratumque esset; iussum
populi et suffragia esse. Quum intercedendo tribuni nihil 13
aliud, quam ut differrent comitia, valuissent, duo patricii
consules creati sunt, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium, M. Valerius
Publicola, eodemque die magistratum inierunt.

18. Quadringentesimo anno, quam urbs Romana condita
erat, quinto tricesimo, quam a Gallis recuperata, ablato post
undecimum annum a plebe consulatu, patricii consules ambo
ex interregno magistratum iniere, C. Sulpicius Peticus ter-
tium, M. Valerius Publicola. Empulum eo anno ex Tibur- 2
tibus haud memorando certamine captum, sive duorum con-
sulum auspicio bellum ibi gestum est, ut scripsere quidam,
seu per idem tempus Tarquiniensium quoque sunt vastati
agri ab Sulpicio consule, quo Valerius adversus Tiburtes
legiones duxit. Domi maius certamen consulibus cum plebe 3
ac tribunis erat. Fidei iam suae, non solum virtutis ducebant
esse, ut acceperant duo patricii consulatum, ita ambobus
patriciis mandare: quin aut toto cedendum esse, ut plebeius 4
iam magistratus consulatus fiat, aut totum possidendum, quam
possessionem integram a patribus acceperant. Plebes contra 5
fremat: quid se vivere, quid in parte civium censi, si, quod
duorum hominum virtute, L. Sextii ac C. Licinii, partum
sit, id obtinere universi non possint? Vel reges vel decem- 6
viros vel si quod tristius sit imperii nomen, patiendum esse 7
potius, quam ambos patricos consules videant nec in vicem
pareatur atque imperetur, sed pars altera in aeterno imperio
locata plebem nusquam alio natam quam ad serviendum

8 putet. Non desunt tribuni auctores turbarum, sed inter con-
9 citatos per se omnes vix duces eminent. Aliquoties frustra
in campum descensum quum esset multique per seditiones
acti comitiales dies, postremo victae perseverantia consulum
plebis eo dolor erupit, ut tribunos, actum esse de libertate
vociferantes relinquendumque non campum iam solum, sed
etiam urbem captam atque oppressam regno patriciorum,
10 maesta plebs sequeretur. Consules relictis a parte populi,
per infrequentiam comitia nihilo segnius perficiunt. Creati
consules ambo patricii, M. Fabius Ambustus tertium, T.
Quinctius. In quibusdam annalibus pro T. Quinctio M.
Popillium consulem invenio.

19. Duo bella eo anno prospere gesta. Cum Tiburtibus
usque ad deditionem pugnatum. Sassula ex his urbs capta,
ceteraque oppida eandem fortunam habuissent, ni universa
2 gens positis armis in fidem consulis venisset. Triumphatum
de Tiburtibus; alioquin mitis victoria fuit. In Tarquinienses
acerbe saevitum; multis mortalibus in acie caesis, ex ingenti
captivorum numero trecenti quinquaginta octo delecti, nobi-
lissimus quisque, qui Romam mitterentur; vulgus aliud
3 trucidatum. Nec populus in eos, qui missi Romam erant,
mitior fuit; medio in foro omnes virgis caesi ac securi per-
cussi. Id pro immolatis in foro Tarquiniensium Romanis
4 poenae hostibus redditum. Res bello bene gestae, ut Sam-
nites quoque amicitiam peterent, effecerunt. Legatis eorum
comiter ab senatu responsum; foedere in societatem accepti.
5 Non eadem domi, quae militiae, fortuna erat plebi Romanae.
Nam etsi, unciario fenore facto, levata usura erat, sorte ipsa
obruerantur inopes nexumque inibant; eo nec patricios
ambo consules neque comitiorum curam publicave studia
6 prae privatis incommodis plebs ad animum admittebat. Con-
sulatus uterque apud patricios manet; consules creati C.
Sulpicius Peticus quartum, M. Valerius Publicola iterum. In

bellum Etruscum intentam civitatem, quia Caeritem populum misericordia consanguinitatis Tarquiniensibus adiunctum fama ferebat, legati Latini ad Volscos convertere, nuntiantes, exercitum conscriptum armatumque iam suis finibus immi-
nere; inde populabundos in agrum Romanum venturos esse. Censuit igitur senatus neutram negligendam rem esse; 7
utroque legiones scribi consulesque sortiri provincias iussit. Inclina-
vit deinde pars maior curae in Etruscum bellum, post- 8
quam litteris Sulpicii consulis, cui Tarquinius provincia evene-
rat, cognitum est, depopulatum agrum circa Romanas salinas praedaeque partem in Caeritum fines avectam, et haud dubie iuventutem eius populi inter praedatores fuisse. Itaque Vale- 9
rium consulem, Volscis oppositum castraque ad finem Tusculanum habentem, revocatum inde senatus dictatorem dicere iussit. T. Manlium L. filium dixit. Is quum sibi magistrum 10
equitum A. Cornelium Cossum dixisset, consulari exercitu contentus ex auctoritate patrum ac populi iussu Caeritibus bellum indixit.

20. Tum primum Caerites, tanquam in verbis hostium vis maior ad bellum significandum quam in suis factis, qui per populationem Romanos lacessierant, esset, verus belli terror invasit, et, quam non suarum virium ea dimicatio esset, cernebant; paenitebatque populationis, et Tarquinienses exse- 2
crabantur defectionis auctores; nec arma aut bellum quisquam apparare sed pro se quisque legatos mitti iubebat ad petendam erroris veniam. Legati senatum quum adissent, ab senatu 3
reiecti ad populum deos rogaverunt, quorum sacra bello Gallico accepta rite procurassent, ut Romanos florentes ea sui misericordia caperet, quae se rebus affectis quondam populi Romani cepisset; conversique ad delubra Vestae hospitium 4
flaminum Vestaliumque ab se caste ac religiose cultum invocabant: Eane meritos crederet quisquam hostes repente sine 5
causa factos? aut, si quid hostiliter fecissent, consilio id

magis quam furore lapsos fecisse, ut sua vetera beneficia, locata praesertim apud tam gratos, novis corrumperent maleficiis, florentemque populum Romanum ac felicissimum bello sibi desumerent hostem, cuius afflicti amicitiam petissent? Ne appellarent consilium, quæ vis ac necessitas appellanda
6 esset. Transeuntes agmine infesto per agrum suum Tarquinienses, quum praeter viam nihil petissent, traxisse quosdam agrestium populationis eius, quæ sibi crimini detur,
7 comites. Eos seu dedi placeat, dedere se paratos esse, seu supplicio affici, daturos poenas. Caere, sacrarium populi Romani, deversorium sacerdotum ac receptaculum Romanorum sacrorum, intactum inviolatumque crimine belli hospitio
8 Vestalium cultisque dis darent. Movit populum non tam causa praesens quam vetus meritum, ut maleficii quam beneficii potius immemores essent. Itaque pax populo Caeriti data, indutiasque in centum annos factas in senatus consultum
9 referri placuit. In Faliscos eodem noxios crimine vis belli conversa est; sed hostes nusquam inventi. Quum populatione peragrati fines essent, ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum, legionibusque Romam reductis, reliquum anni muris turribusque reficiendis consumptum, et aedes Apollinis dedicata est.

21. Extremo anno comitia consularia certamen patrum ac plebis diremit, tribunis negantibus passuros comitia haberi, ni secundum Liciniam legem haberentur, dictatore obstinato tollere potius totum e re publica consulatum quam promi-
2 scuum patribus ac plebi facere. Prolatandis igitur comitiis quum dictator magistratu abisset, res ad interregnum rediit. Infestam inde patribus plebem interreges quum accepissent,
3 ad undecimum interregem seditionibus certatum est. Legis Licinae patrocinium tribuni iactabant; propior dolor plebi fenoris ingravescentis erat, curaeque privatae in certaminibus
4 publicis erumpebant. Quorum taedio patres L. Cornelium

Scipionem interregem concordiae causa observare legem Liciniam comitiis consularibus iussere. P. Valerio Publicolae datus e plebe collega C. Marcius Rutilus. Inclinatorum semel 5 in concordiam animis, novi consules fenebrem quoque rem, quae distingere una animos videbatur, levare aggressi solutionem alieni aeris in publicam curam verterunt, quinqueviris creatis, quos mensarios ab dispensatione pecuniae appellarunt. Meriti aequitate curaque sunt, ut per omnium 6 annalium monumenta celebres nominibus essent; fuere autem C. Duillius, P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publilius, T. Aemilius. Qui rem difficillimam tractatu et plerumque 7 parti utrique, semper certe alteri gravem quum alia moderatione, tum impendio magis publico quam iactura sustinuerunt. Tarda enim nomina et impeditiora inertia debitorum quam 8 facultatibus aut aerarium, mensis cum aere in foro positus, dissolvit, ut populo prius caveretur, aut aestimatio aequis rerum pretiis liberavit, ut non modo sine iniuria, sed etiam sine querimoniis partis utriusque exhausta vis ingens aeris alieni sit. Terror inde vanus belli Etrusci, quum coniurasse 9 duodecim populos fama esset, dictatorem dici coegit. Dictus in castris (eo enim ad consules missum senatus consultum est) C. Iulius, cui magister equitum adiectus L. Aemilius.

22. Ceterum foris tranquilla omnia fuere; tentatum domi per dictatorem, ut ambo patricii consules crearentur, rem ad interregnum perduxit. Duo interreges, C. Sulpicius et 2 M. Fabius, interpositi obtinere, quod dictator frustra tetenderat, mitiore iam plebe ob recens meritum levati aeris alieni, ut ambo patricii consules crearentur. Creati ipse C. Sulpicius 3 Peticus, qui prior interregno abiit, et T. Quinctius Pennus; quidam Caesonem, alii Gaium nomen Quinctio adiciunt. Ad 4 bellum ambo profecti, Faliscum Quinctius, Sulpicius Tarquinien-
ense, nusquam acie congresso hoste, cum agris magis quam cum hominibus urendo populandoque gesserunt bella; cuius 5

lentae velut tabis senio victa utriusque pertinacia populi est, ut primum a consulibus, dein permissu eorum ab senatu indutias peterent. In quadraginta annos impetraverunt. Ita posita duorum bellorum, quae imminebant, cura, dum aliqua ab armis quies esset, quia solutio aeris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos, censum agi placuit. Ceterum quum censoribus creandis indicta comitia essent, professus censuram se petere C. Marcius Rutilus, qui primus dictator de plebe fuerat, concordiam ordinum turbavit; quod videbatur quidem tempore alieno fecisse, quia ambo tum forte patricii consules erant, qui rationem eius se habituros negabant; sed et ipse constantia inceptum obtinuit et tribuni omni vi, recuperaturi ius consularibus comitiis amissum, adiuverunt, et quum ipsius viri maiestas nullius honoris fastigium non aequabat, tum per eundem, qui ad dictaturam aperuisset viam, censuram quoque in partem vocari plebes volebat. Nec variatum comitiis est, quin cum † Manlio Gnaeo censor Marcius crearetur. Dictatorem quoque hic annus habuit M. Fabium, nullo terrore belli, sed ne Licinia lex comitiis consularibus observaretur. Magister equitum dictatori additus Q. Servilius. Nec tamen dictatura potentiores eum consensum patrum consularibus comitiis fecit, quam censoris fuerat.

23. M. Popillius Laenas a plebe consul, a patribus L. Cornelius Scipio datus. Fortuna quoque illustriorem plebei consulem fecit; nam quum ingentem Gallorum exercitum in agro Latino castra posuisse nuntiatum esset, Scipione gravi morbo implicito, Gallicum bellum Popillio extra ordinem datum. Is impigre exercitu scripto, quum omnes extra portam Capenam ad Martis aedem convenire armatos iunioris iussisset signaque eodem quaestores ex aerario deferre, quattuor expletis legionibus, quod superfluum militum, P. Valerio Publicolae praetori tradidit, auctor patribus scribendi alterius exercitus, quod ad incertos belli eventus

subsidium rei publicae esset. Ipse iam satis omnibus instructis comparatisque ad hostem pergit; cuius ut prius 5 nosceret vires, quam periculo ultimo tentaret, in tumulo, quem proximum castris Gallorum capere potuit, vallum ducere coepit. Gens ferox et ingenii avidi ad pugnam quum, procul visis Romanorum signis, ut extemplo proelium initura 6 explicuisset aciem, postquam neque in aequum demitti agmen vidit et quum loci altitudine, tum vallo etiam tegi Romanos, percussos pavore rata, simul opportuniores, quod intenti tum maxime operi essent, truci clamore aggreditur. Ab Romanis nec opus intermissum (triarii erant, qui muniebant), et ab 7 hastatis principibusque, qui pro munitioribus intenti armatique steterant, proelium initum. Praeter virtutem locus quoque superior adiuvit, ut pila omnia hastaeque non tanquam ex 8 aequo missa vana, quod plerumque fit, caderent, sed omnia librata ponderibus figerentur; oneratique telis Galli, quibus aut corpora transfixa aut praegravata inhaerentibus gerebant 9 scuta, quum cursu paene in adversum subissent, primo incerti resistere; dein, quum ipsa cunctatio et his animos minuisset et auxisset hosti, impulsus retro ruere alii super 10 alios stragemque inter se caede ipsa foediorum dare; adeo praecipiti turba obtriti plures quam ferro necati.

24. Necdum certa Romanis victoria erat; alia in campum degressis supererat moles. Namque multitudo Gallorum, sensum omnem talis damni exsuperans, velut nova rursus 2 exoriente acie, integrum militem adversus victorem hostem ciebat, stetitque suppresso impetu Romanus, et quia iterum fessis subeunda dimicatio erat, et quod consul, dum inter 3 primores incautus agitat, laevo humero matari prope trajecto, cesserat parumper ex acie. Iamque omissa cunctando vic- 4 toria erat, quum consul, vulnere alligato, revectus ad prima signa 'Quid stas, miles?' inquit. 'Non cum Latino Sabinoque hoste res est, quem victum armis socium ex hoste

5 facias ; in beluas strinximus ferrum ; hauriendus aut dandus
est sanguis. Propulistis a castris, supina valle praecipites
egistis, stratis corporibus hostium superstatis ; complete
6 eadem strage campos, qua montes replestis. Nolite expec-
tare, dum stantes vos fugiant ; inferenda sunt signa et va-
7 dendum in hostem.' His adhortationibus iterum coorti
pellunt loco primos manipulos Gallorum ; cuneis deinde in
8 medium agmen perrumpunt. Inde barbari dissipati, quibus
nec certa imperia nec duces essent, vertunt impetum in suos ;
fusique per campos et praeter castra etiam sua fuga praelati,
quod editissimum inter aequales tumulos occurrebat oculis,
9 arcem Albanam petunt. Consul non ultra castra insecutus,
quia et vulnus degravabat et subiicere exercitum tumulis
ab hoste occupatis nolebat, praeda omni castrorum militi
data, victorem exercitum opulentumque Gallicis spoliis Ro-
10 mam reduxit. Moram triumpho vulnus consulis attulit,
eademque causa dictatoris desiderium senatui fecit, ut esset,
11 qui aegris consulibus comitia haberet. Dictator L. Furius
Camillus dictus, addito magistro equitum P. Cornelio Sci-
pione, reddidit patribus possessionem pristinam consulatus.
Ipse ob id meritum ingenti patrum studio creatus consul
collegam App. Claudium Crassum dixit.

25. Priusquam inirent novi consules magistratum, tri-
umphus a Popillio de Gallis actus magno favore plebis ; mus-
santesque inter se rogitabant, num quem plebeii consulis
2 paeniteret ; simul dictatorem increpabant, qui legis Licinae
spretae mercedem [consulatum,] privata cupiditate quam
publica iniuria foediorem cepisset, ut se ipse consulem dic-
3 tator crearet. Annus multis variisque motibus fuit insignis.
Galli ex Albanis montibus, quia hiemis vim pati nequiverant,
4 per campos maritimaque loca vagi populabantur ; mare in-
festum classibus Graecorum erat oraque litoris Antiatis Lau-
rensque tractus et Tiberis ostia, ut praedones maritimi cum

terrestribus congressi ancipiti semel proelio decertarint, dubiisque discesserint in castra Galli, Graeci retro ad naves, victos se an victores putarent. Inter hos longe maximus 5 exstitit terror concilia populorum Latinorum ad lucum Feren-tinae habita responsumque haud ambiguum imperantibus milites Romanis datum, absisterent imperare iis, quorum auxilio egerent; Latinos pro sua libertate potius quam pro 6 alieno imperio laturos arma. Inter duo simul bella externa 7 defectione etiam sociorum senatus anxius, quum cerneret, metu tenendos, quos fides non tenuisset, extendere omnes imperii vires consules dilectu habendo iussit: civili quippe standum exercitu esse, quando socialis [coetus] desereret. Undique, non urbana tantum, sed etiam agresti iuventute, 8 decem legiones scriptae dicuntur quaternum millium et duce-norum peditum equitumque trecenorum, quem nunc novum 9 exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, hae vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractae in unum haud facile efficiant; adeo in quae laboramus, sola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque. Inter cetera tristia eius anni consul 10 alter App. Claudius in ipso belli apparatu moritur; redie-rantque res ad Camillum, cui unico consuli vel ob aliam 11 dignationem haud subiiciendam dictaturae vel ob omen faustum ad Gallicum tumultum cognominis dictatorem arro-gari haud satis decorum visum est patribus. Consul, duabus 12 legionibus urbi praepositis, octo cum L. Pinario praetore divisus, memor paternae virtutis Gallicum sibi bellum extra sortem sumit, praetorem maritimam oram tutari Graecosque arcere litoribus iussit. Et quum in agrum Pomptinum de- 13 scendisset, quia neque in campis congregi nulla cogente re volebat et prohibendo populationibus, quos raptò vivere necessitas cogeret, satis domari credebat hostem, locum idoneum stativis delegit.

26. Ubi quum in stationibus quieti tempus tererent, Gallus

processit magnitudine atque armis insignis; quatiensque
scutum hasta quum silentium fecisset, provocat per inter-
2 pretem unum ex Romanis, qui secum ferro decernat. M. erat
Valerius tribunus militum adolescens, qui haud indigniorem
eo decore se quam T. Manlium ratus, prius sciscitatus con-
3 sulis voluntatem, in medium armatus processit. Minus in-
signe certamen humanum numine interposito deorum factum;
namque conserenti iam manum Romano corvus repente in
4 galea consedit, in hostem versus. Quod primo ut augurium
caelo missum laetus accepit tribunus, precatus deinde, si
divus, si diva esset, qui sibi praepetem misisset, volens pro-
5 pitius adesset. Dictu mirabile, tenuit non solum ales captam
semel sedem, sed, quotiescunque certamen initum est, levans
se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetit, donec
territum prodigii talis visu oculisque simul ac mente turbatum
Valerius obruncat; corvus ex conspectu elatus orientem
6 petit. Hactenus quietae utrinque stationes fuere; postquam
spoliare corpus caesi hostis tribunus coepit, nec Galli se sta-
tione tenuerunt, et Romanorum cursus ad victorem etiam
ocior fuit. Ibi circa iacentis Galli corpus contracto certamine,
7 pugna atrox concitatur. Iam non manipulis proximarum
stationum, sed legionibus utrinque effusis res geritur. Camillus
laetum militem victoria tribuni, laetum tam praesentibus ac
secundis dis ire in proelium iubet; ostentansque insignem
spoliis tribunum, 'Hunc imitare, miles' aiebat, 'et circa
8 iacentem ducem sterne Gallorum catervas.' Di hominesque
illi affuere pugnae, depugnatumque haudquaquam certamine
ambiguo cum Gallis est; adeo duorum militum eventum,
inter quos pugnatum erat, utraque acies animis praeceperat.
9 Inter primos, quorum concursus alios exciverat, atrox proe-
lium fuit; alia multitudo, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret,
terga vertit. Primo per Volscos Falernumque agrum dissi-
10 pati sunt; inde Apuliam ac mare superum petierunt. Consul,

contione advocata, laudatum tribunum decem bubus aureaque corona donat; ipse iussus ab senatu bellum maritimum curare, cum praetore iunxit castra. Ibi quia res trahi seg-
 11 nitia Graecorum non committentium se in aciem videbantur, dictatorem comitiorum causa T. Manlium Torquatum ex auctoritate senatus dixit. Dictator, magistro equitum A. 12 Cornelio Cosso dicto, comitia consularia habuit, aemulumque decoris sui absentem M. Valerium Corvum (id enim illi deinde cognominis fuit) summo favore populi, tres et viginti natum annos, consulem renuntiavit. Collega Corvo 13 de plebe M. Popillius Laenas, quartum consul futurus, datus est. Cum Graecis a Camillo nulla memorabilis gesta res; nec illi terra nec Romanus mari bellator erat. Postremo 14 quum litoribus arcerentur, aqua etiam praeter cetera necessaria usui deficiente, Italiam reliquere. Cuius populi ea 15 cuiusque gentis classis fuerit, nihil certi est. Maxime Siciliae fuisse tyrannos crediderim; nam ulterior Graecia ea tempestate intestino fessa bello iam Macedonum opes horrebat.

27. Exercitibus dimissis, quum et foris pax et domi concordia ordinum otium esset, ne nimis laetae res essent, pestilentia civitatem adorta coegit senatum imperare decemviris, ut libros Sibyllinos inspicerent, eorumque monitu lectister-
 2 nium fuit. Eodem anno Satricum ab Antiatis colonia 2 deducta restitutaque urbs, quam Latini diruerant; et cum Carthaginensibus legatis Romae foedus ictum, quum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent. Idem otium domi 3 forisque mansit T. Manlio Torquato, C. Plautio consulibus. Semunciarium tantum ex unciario fenus factum, et in pensiones aequas triennii, ita ut quarta praesens esset, solutio aeris alieni dispensata est; et sic quoque parte plebis affecta, 4 fides tamen publica privatis difficultatibus potior ad curam senatui fuit. Levatae maxime res, quia tributo ac dilectu supersessum. Tercio anno post Satricum restitutum a Vol- 5

scis M. Valerius Corvus iterum consul cum C. Poetelio factus, quum ex Latio nuntiatum esset, legatos ab Antio circumire
6 populos Latinorum ad concitandum bellum, priusquam plus hostium fieret, Volscis arma inferre iussus, ad Satricum exercitu infesto pergit. Quo quum Antiates alique Volsci, praeparatis iam ante, si quid ab Roma moveretur, copiis, occurrissent, nulla mora inter infensos diutino odio dimi-
7 candi facta est. Volsci, ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens, certamine victi fuga effusa Satrici moenia petunt, et, ne in muris quidem satis firma spe, quum corona militum cincta iam scalis caperetur urbs, ad quattuor millia
8 militum praeter multitudinem imbellem sese dedidere. Oppidum dirutum atque incensum; ab aede tantum matris Matutae abstinuere ignem; praeda omnis militi data. Extra praedam quattuor millia deditorum habita; eos vinctos consul ante currum triumphans egit; venditis deinde, magnam
9 pecuniam in aerarium redegit. Sunt, qui hanc multitudinem captivam servorum fuisse scribant, idque magis veri simile est quam deditos venisse.

28. Hos consules secuti sunt M. Fabius Dorsuo, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Auruncum inde bellum ab repentina
2 populatione coeptum, metuque, ne id factum populi unius, consilium omnis nominis Latini esset, dictator velut adversus armatum iam Latium L. Furius creatus, magistrum equitum
3 Cn. Manlium Capitolinum dixit; et quum, quod per magnos tumultus fieri solitum erat, iustitio indicto dilectus sine vacationibus habitus esset, legiones, quantum maturari potuit, in Auruncos ductae. Ibi praedonum magis quam hostium
4 animi inventi; prima itaque acie debellatum est. Dictator tamen, quia et ultro bellum intulerant et sine detrectatione se certamini offerebant, deorum quoque opes adhibendas ratus inter ipsam dimicationem aedem Iunoni Monetae vovit; cuius damnatus voti quum victor Romam revertisset, dicta-

tura se abdicavit. Senatus duumviros ad eam aedem pro 5
amplitudine populi Romani faciendam creari iussit; locus in
arce destinatus, quae area aedium M. Manlii Capitolini fuerat.
Consules dictatoris exercitu ad bellum Volscum usi Soram 6
ex hostibus, incautos adorti, ceperunt. Anno postquam
vota erat, aedes Monetae dedicatur, C. Marcio Rutilo tertium,
T. Manlio Torquato iterum consulibus. Prodigium extemplo 7
dedicationem secutum, simile vetusto montis Albani prodigio;
namque et lapidibus pluit et nox interdum visa intendi; libris-
que inspectis, quum plena religione civitas esset, senatui
placuit, dictatorem feriarum constituendarum causa dici.
Dictus P. Valerius Publicola; magister equitum ei Q. Fabius 8
Ambustus datus est. Non tribus tantum supplicatum ire
placuit, sed finitimos etiam populos, ordoque iis, quo quis-
que die supplicarent, statutus. Iudicia eo anno populi tristia 9
in feneratores facta, quibus ab aedilibus dicta dies esset, tra-
duntur; et res, haud ulla insigni ad memoriam causa, ad
interregnum rediit. Ex interregno, ut id actum videri posset, 10
ambo patricii consules creati sunt, M. Valerius Corvus
tertium, A. Cornelius Cossus.

29. Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longin-
quitate vel regionum vel temporum [spatio], quibus bellatum
est, dicuntur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem
opibus armisque validam, mota arma; Samnitium bellum 2
ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti.
Quanta rerum moles! quoties in extrema periculorum ventum,
ut in hanc magnitudinem, quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium
posset! Belli autem causa cum Samnitibus Romanis, quum 3
societate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non
orta inter ipsos est. Samnites Sidicinis iniusta arma, quia 4
viribus plus poterant, quum intulissent, coacti inopes ad
opulentiorum auxilium confugere Campanis sese coniungunt.
Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires 5

quum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi agro in se deinde molem omnem belli verterunt.
6 Namque Samnites, omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum Campanos adorti, unde aequae facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, imminentes Capuae colles, quum praesidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato ag-
7 mine in planitiem, quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet. Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adversoque proelio Campani intra moenia compulsi, quum robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

30. Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc sententiam locuti sunt. 'Populus nos Campanus legatos ad vos, patres conscripti, misit, amicitiam in perpetuum, auxilium
2 praesens a vobis petitum. Quam si secundis rebus nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius, ita infirmiore vinclo contracta esset; tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc,
3 subiecti atque obnoxii vobis minus essemus; nunc, misericordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi, beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati
4 atque omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamur. Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror, ne nos in amicitiam accipiamur, sed ut vetustate et gradu honoris nos praestent; neque enim foedere Samnitium, ne qua nova iungeretis foedera, cautum
5 est. Fuit quidem apud vos semper satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis amicum esse, qui vos appeteret;
6 Campani, etsi fortuna praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus
7 vestris in amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocunque se moverint, ab

tergo erimus, et quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id nos pro imperio vestro et gloria semper faciemus. Sub- 8
actis iis gentibus, quae inter nos vosque sunt, quod propediem futurum spondet et virtus et fortuna vestra, continens imperium usque ad nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est, 9
quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus. Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus; Capuam 10
ergo et Campaniam omnem vestris an Samnitium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate. Omnibus quidem, Romani, 11
vestram misericordiam vestrumque auxilium aequum est patere, iis tamen maxime, qui ea implorantibus aliis [auxilium] dum supra vires suas praestant, *ante* omnes ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt. Quanquam pugnavimus verbo 12
pro Sidicinis, re pro nobis, quum videremus finitimum populum nefario latrocinio Samnitium peti et, ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos traiecturum illud incendium esse. Nec 13
enim nunc, quia dolent iniuriam acceptam Samnites, sed quia gaudent, oblatam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt. An, si ultio irae haec et non occasio cupiditatis 14
explendae esset, parum fuit, quod semel in Sidicino agro, iterum in Campania ipsa legiones nostras cecidere? Quae 15
est ista tam infesta ira, quam per duas acies fusus sanguis explere non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum, praedas hominum atque pecudum actas, incendia villarum ac ruinas, omnia ferro ignique vastata. Hiscine ira expleri 16
non potuit? Sed cupiditas explenda est. Ea ad oppug-
nandam Capuam rapit; aut delere urbem pulcherrimam aut ipsi possidere volunt. Sed vos potius, Romani, beneficio 17
vestro occupate eam, quam illos habere per maleficium sinatis. Non loquor apud recusantem iusta bella populum; sed tamen, si ostenderitis auxilia vestra, ne bello quidem arbitror vobis opus fore. Usque ad nos contemptus Samni- 18

tium pervenit, supra non escendit. Itaque umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus, quicquid deinde habuerimus, 19 quicquid ipsi fuerimus, vestrum id omne existimaturi. Vobis arabitur ager Campanus, vobis Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum immortalium numero nobis eritis; nulla colonia vestra erit, quae nos obsequio erga vos 20 fideque superet. Annuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum invictum Campanis et iubete sperare, incolumem 21 Capuam futuram. Qua frequentia omnium generum multitudinis prosequente creditis nos illinc profectos? quam omnia votorum lacrimarumque plena reliquisse? in qua nunc expectatione senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges 22 liberosque nostros esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam hinc ferentem prospectantes, certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus 23 animi renuntiare iubetis? Alterum responsum salutem, victoriam, lucem ac libertatem; alterum, ominari horreo, quae ferat. Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite.'

31. Summotis deinde legatis, quum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, responditque ita ex auctoritate 2 senatus consul: 'Auxilio vos, Campani, dignos censet senatus; sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt. Itaque arma, deos prius quam homines 3 violatura, adversus Samnites vobis negamus; legatos, sicut ius fasque est, ad socios atque amicos precatum mitemus, ne qua vobis vis fiat.' Ad ea princeps legationis (sic enim domo mandatum attulerant) 'Quando quidem' inquit, 'nostra tueri adversus vim atque iniuriam iusta vi non vultis, vestra

certe defendetis. Itaque populum Campanum urbemque 4
Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in
vestram, patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem de-
dimus, quicquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.
Sub haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni 5
lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt. Commoti 6
patres vice fortunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus
populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxi-
lium finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos, ut se
ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum iam fides 7
agi visa, deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa Samnitium
populum censebant, si agrum urbemque per deditionem
factam populi Romani oppugnarent. Legatos itaque extem- 8
plo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data mandata, ut preces
Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae Samnitium me-
mor, deditionem postremo factam Samnitibus exponerent;
peterent pro societate amicitiaque, ut dediticiis suis parce- 9
rent neque in eum agrum, qui populi Romani factus esset,
hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent, 10
denuntiarent Samnitibus populi Romani senatusque verbis,
ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro abstinerent. Haec legatis 11
agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est ferociter responsum,
ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent id bellum, sed magi-
stratus eorum, e curia egressi, stantibus legatis, praefectos
cohortium vocarent iisque clara voce imperarent, ut praedatum 12
in agrum Campanum extemplo proficiscerentur.

32. Hac legatione Romam relata, positis omnium aliarum
rerum curis patres, fetialibus ad res repetendas missis bel-
loque, quia non redderentur, sollemni more indicto, decreve-
runt, ut primo quoque tempore de ea re ad populum fer-
retur; iussuque populi consules ambo cum duobus exer- 2
citibus ab urbe profecti, Valerius in Campaniam, Cornelius
in Samnium, ille ad montem Gaurum, hic ad Saticulam

3 castra ponunt. Priori Valerio Samnitium legiones (eo nam-
que omnem belli molem inclinaturam censebant) occurrunt;
4 simul in Campanos stimulabat ira tam promptos nunc ad
castra Romana viderunt, ferociter pro se quisque signum
duces poscere, affirmare, eadem fortuna Romanum Campano
5 laturum opem, qua Campanus Sidicino tulerit. Valerius
levibus certaminibus tentandi hostis causa haud ita multos
6 moratus dies, signum pugnae proposuit, paucis suos ad-
hortatus, ne novum bellum eos novusque hostis terreret:
quicquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma, magis magisque
7 in imbelles gentes eos prodire. Ne Sidicinorum Campano-
rumque cladibus Samnitium aestimarent virtutem; quales-
cunque inter se certaverint, necesse fuisse alteram partem
vinci. Campanos quidem haud dubie magis nimio luxu
fluentibus rebus mollitiaque sua quam vi hostium victos esse.
8 Quid autem esse duo prospera in tot saeculis bella Samnitium
adversus tot decora populi Romani, qui triumphos paene
9 plures quam annos ab urbe condita numeret; qui omnia
circa se, Sabinos, Etruriam, Latinos, Hernicos, Aequos,
Volscos, Auruncos, domita armis habeat; qui Gallos tot
proeliis caesos postremo in mare ac naves fuga compulerit?
10 Quum gloria belli ac virtute sua quemque fretos ire in
aciem debere, tum etiam intueri, cuius ductu auspicioque
11 ineunda pugna sit, utrum qui, audiendus dumtaxat, magnifi-
cus adhortator sit, verbis tantum ferox, operum militarium
expers, an qui et ipse tela tractare, procedere ante signa,
12 versari media in mole pugnae sciat. 'Facta mea, non dicta
vos, milites' inquit, 'sequi volo, nec disciplinam modo, sed
exemplum etiam a me petere. Non factionibus nec per
coitiones usitatas nobilibus, sed hac dextra mihi tres consu-
13 latus summamque laudem peperit. Fuit, quum hoc dici
poterat: 'Patricius enim eras et a liberatoribus patriae ortus,

et eodem anno familia ista consulatum, quo urbs haec consulem habuit; nunc iam nobis patribus vobisque plebei 14 promiscuus consulatus patet, nec generis, ut ante, sed virtutis est praemium. Proinde summum quodque spectate, milites, decus. Non, si mihi novum hoc Corvini cognomen dis 15 auctoribus homines dedistis, Publicolarum vetustum familiae nostrae cognomen memoria excessit; semper ego plebem 16 Romanam militiae domique, privatus, in magistratibus parvis magnisque, aequae tribunus ac consul, eodem tenore per omnes deinceps consulatus colo atque colui. Nunc, quod 17 instat, dis bene iuvantibus novum atque integrum de Samnitibus triumphum mecum petite.'

33. Non alias militi familiarior dux fuit, omnia inter infimos militum haud gravate munia obeundo. In ludo 2 praeterea militari, quum velocitatis viriumque inter se aequales certamina ineunt, comiter facilis; vincere ac vinci vultu eodem nec quemquam aspernari parem, qui se offerret; factis benignus pro re, dictis haud minus libertatis alienae 3 quam suae dignitatis memor, et, quo nihil popularius est, quibus artibus petierat magistratus, iisdem gerebat. Itaque 4 universus exercitus incredibili alacritate adhortationem prosecutus ducis castris egreditur. Proelium, ut quod maxime 5 unquam, pari spe utrinque, aequis viribus, cum fiducia sui sine contemptu hostium commissum est. Samnitibus ferociam augebant novae res gestae et paucos ante dies geminata victoria, Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria; utrisque tamen novus hostis curam addebat. Pugna indicio fuit, quos gesserint animos; namque ita conflixerunt, ut aliquamdiu in neutram partem inclinerent acies. Tum consul trepidationem iniciendam ratus, quando vi pelli non poterant, equitibus immissis turbare prima signa hostium conatur. Quos ubi nequicquam tumultuantes in spatio exiguo volvere 9

turmas vidit nec posse aperire in hostes viam, revector ad
antesignanos legionum, quum desiluisset ex equo, 'Nos-
10 trum' inquit, 'peditum illud, milites, est opus. Agite dum,
ut me videritis, quacunque incessero in aciem hostium, ferro
viam facientem, sic pro se quisque obvios sternite; illa
omnia, qua nunc erectae micant hastae, patefacta strage
11 vasta cernetis.' Haec dicta dederat, quum equites consulis
iussu discurrent in cornua legionibusque in mediam aciem
aperiunt viam. Primus omnium consul invadit hostem et,
12 cum quo forte contulit gradum, obruncat. Hoc spectaculo
accensi dextra laevaue ante se quisque memorandum proe-
lium ciet; stant obnixa Samnites, quanquam plura acci-
13 piunt quam inferunt vulnera. Aliquamdiu iam pugnatum
erat; atrox caedes circa signa Samnitium, fuga ab nulladum
parte erat; adeo morte sola vinci destinaverant animis.
14 Itaque Romani quum et fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent
et diei haud multum superesse, accensi ira concitant se in
15 hostem. Tum primum referri pedem atque inclinari rem
in fugam apparuit; tum capi, occidi Samnis, nec super-
fuissent multi, ni nox victoriam magis quam proelium dire-
16 misset. Et Romani fatebantur, nunquam cum pertinaciore
hoste conflictum, et Samnites, quum quaereretur, quatenam
17 prima causa tam obstinatos movisset in fugam, oculos sibi
Romanorum ardere visos aiebant, vesanosque vultus et
furentia ora; inde plus quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum.
Quem terrorem non pugnae solum eventu, sed nocturna
18 profectione confessi sunt. Postero die vacuis hostium cas-
tris Romanus potitur, quo se omnis Campanorum multitudo
gratulabunda effudit.

34. Ceterum hoc gaudium magna prope clade in Samnio
foedatum est. Nam ab Saticula profectus Cornelius consul
exercitum incaute in saltum cava valle pervium circaque in-
2 sessum ab hoste induxit nec prius, quam recipi tuto signa

non poterant, imminentem capiti hostem vidit. Dum id 3
morae Samnitibus est, quoad totum in vallem infimam de-
mitterent agmen, P. Decius tribunus militum conspicit unum
editum in saltu collem, imminentem hostium castris, aditu
arduum impedito agmini, expeditis haud difficilem. Itaque 4
consuli terrore animi 'Videsne tu' inquit, 'A. Corneli, ca-
cumen illud supra hostem? Arx illa est spei salutisque
nostrae, si eam, quoniam caeci reliquere Samnites, impigre
capimus. Ne tu mihi plus quam unius legionis principes 5
hastatosque dederis; cum quibus ubi evasero in summum,
perge hinc omni liber metu, teque et exercitum serva;
neque enim moveri hostis, subiectus nobis ad omnes ictus,
sine sua pernicie poterit. Nos deinde aut fortuna populi 6
Romani aut nostra virtus expedit.' Collaudatus ab consule, 7
accepto praesidio, vadit occultus per saltum; nec prius ab
hoste est visus, quam loco, quem petebat, appropinquavit.
Inde admiratione paventibus cunctis, quum omnium in se 8
vertisset oculos, et spatium consuli dedit ad subducendum
agmen in aequiorem locum et ipse in summo constitit ver-
tice. Samnites dum huc illuc signa vertunt, utriusque rei 9
amissa occasione, neque insequi consulem nisi per eandem
vallem, in qua paulo ante subiectum eum telis suis habue-
rant, possunt nec erigere agmen in captum super se ab
Decio tumultum; sed quum ira in hos magis, qui fortunam 10
gerendae rei eripuerant, tum propinquitas loci atque ipsa
paucitas incitat, et nunc circumdare undique collem armatis 11
volunt, ut a consule Decium intercludant, nunc viam pate-
facere, ut degressos in vallem adoriantur. Incertos, quid
agerent, nox oppressit. Decium primum spes tenuit, cum 12
subeuntibus in adversum collem ex superiore loco se pugna-
turum; deinde admiratio incessit, quod nec pugnam inirent
nec, si ab eo consilio iniquitate loci deterrerentur, opere se
valloque circumdarent. Tum centurionibus ad se vocatis: 13

‘Quaenam illa inscitia belli ac pigritia est? aut quonam modo isti ex Sidicinis Campanisque victoriam pepererunt? Huc atque illuc signa moveri ac modo in unum conferri, modo diduci videtis; opus quidem incipit nemo, quum iam
14 circumdati vallo potuerimus esse. Tum vero nos similes istorum simus, si diutius hic moremur, quam commodum sit. Agite dum, ite mecum, ut, dum lucis aliquid superest, quibus locis praesidia ponant, qua pateat hinc exitus, ex-
15 ploremus.’ Haec omnia sagulo gregali amictus, centurionibus item manipularium militum habitu ductis, ne ducem circumire hostes notarent, perlustravit.

35. Vigiliis deinde dispositis, ceteris omnibus tesseram dari iubet, ubi secundae vigiliae bucina datum signum esset, 2 armati cum silentio ad se convenirent. Quo ubi, sicut edictum erat, taciti convenerunt, ‘Hoc silentium, milites’ inquit, ‘omisso militari assensu, in me audiendo servandum est. Ubi sententiam meam vobis peregero, tum, quibus eadem placebunt, in dextram partem taciti transibitis; quae
3 pars maior erit, eo stabitur consilio. Nunc, quae mente agitem, audite. Non fuga delatos nec inertia relictos hic vos circumvenit hostis; virtute cepistis locum, virtute hinc
4 oportet evadatis. Veniendo huc exercitum egregium populo Romano servastis; erumpendo hinc vosmet ipsos servate; digni estis, qui pauci pluribus opem tuleritis, ipsi nullius
5 auxilio egueritis. Cum eo hoste res est, qui hesternum die delendi omnis exercitus fortuna per socordiam usus non sit; hunc tam opportunum collem imminem capiti suo non
6 ante viderit quam captum a nobis; nos tam paucos tot ipse millibus hominum nec ascensu arcuerit nec tenentes locum, quum diei tantum superesset, vallo circumdederit. Quem videntem ac vigilantem sic eluseritis, sopitum oportet fallatis,
7 immo necesse est; in eo enim loco res sunt nostrae, ut vobis ego magis necessitatis vestrae index quam consilii

auctor sim. Neque enim, maneatis an abeatis hinc, delibe- 8
rari potest, quum praeter arma et animos armorum memores
nihil vobis fortuna reliqui fecerit, fameque et siti moriendum
sit, si plus, quam viros ac Romanos decet, ferrum timeamus.
Ergo una est salus erumpere hinc atque abire. Id aut in- 9
terdiu aut nocte faciamus oportet. Ecce autem aliud minus 10
dubium; quippe, si lux exspectetur, quae spes est, non vallo
perpetuo fossaque nos saepturum hostem, qui nunc corpo-
ribus suis subiectis undique cinxerit, ut videtis, collem?
Atqui si nox opportuna est eruptioni, sicut est, haec profecto 11
noctis aptissima hora est. Signo secundae vigiliae con-
venistis, quod tempus mortales somno altissimo premit;
per corpora sopita vadetis, vel silentio incautos fallentes vel
sentientibus clamore subito pavorem iniecturi. Me modo 12
sequimini, quem secuti estis; ego eandem, quae duxit huc,
sequar fortunam. Quibus haec salutaria videntur, agite dum,
in dextram partem pedibus transite.'

36. Omnes transierunt, vadentemque per intermissa custo-
diis loca Decium secuti sunt. Iam evaserant media castra, 2
quum superscandens vigilum strata somno corpora miles
offenso scuto praebuit sonitum; quo excitatus vigil quum
proximum movisset erectique alios concitarent, ignari, cives
an hostes essent, praesidium erumperet an consul castra ce-
pisset, Decius, quoniam non fallerent, clamorem tollere iussis 3
militibus, torpidos somno insuper pavore exanimat, quo prae-
pediti nec arma impigre capere nec obsistere nec insequi
poterant. Inter trepidationem tumultumque Samnitium prae- 4
sidium Romanum, obviis custodibus caesis, ad castra con-
sulis pervadit. Aliquantum supererat noctis, iamque in tuto 5
videbantur esse, quum Decius 'Macte virtute' inquit, 'miles
Romani, este. Vestrum iter ac reditum omnia saecula
laudibus ferent; sed ad conspiciendam tantam virtutem luce 6
ac die opus est, nec vos digni estis, quos cum tanta gloria

7 in castra reduces silentium ac nox tegat. Hic lucem quieti
opperiemur.' Dictis obtemperatum; atque ubi primum il-
luxit, praemisso nuntio ad consulem, castra ingenti gaudio
concitantur, et, tessera data, incolumes reverti, qui sua cor-
pora pro salute omnium haud dubio periculo obiecissent,
pro se quisque obviam effusi laudant, gratulantur, singulos
universosque servatores suos vocant, dis laudes gratesque
8 agunt, Decium in caelum ferunt. Hic Decii castrensis
triumphus fuit, incedentis per media castra cum armato
praesidio, coniectis in eum omnium oculis, et omni honore
9 tribunum consuli aequantibus. Ubi ad praetorium ventum
est, consul classico ad contionem convocat, orsusque meritas
10 Decii laudes, interfante ipso Decio distulit contionem; qui
auctor omnia posthabendi, dum occasio in manibus esset,
perpulit consulem, ut hostes et nocturno pavore attonitos
et circa collem castellatim dissipatos aggrediretur: credere
etiam, aliquos ad se sequendum emissos per saltum vagari.
11 Iussae legiones arma capere, egressaeque castris, quum per
exploratores notior iam saltus esset, via patentiore ad hostem
12 ducuntur; quem incautum improvise adortae, quum palati
passim Samnitium milites, plerique inermes, nec coire in
unum nec arma capere nec recipere intra vallum se possent,
paventem primum in castra compellunt, deinde castra ipsa,
13 turbatis stationibus, capiunt. Perfertur circa collem clamor
fugatique ex suis quemque praesidiis. Ita magna pars absenti
hosti cessit; quos intra vallum egerat pavor (fuere autem
ad triginta millia), omnes caesi; castra direpta.

37. Ita rebus gestis, consul, advocata contione, P. Decii
non coeptas solum ante, sed cumulas nova virtute laudes
peragit, et praeter militaria alia dona aurea corona eum et
centum bubus eximioque uno albo opimo auratis cornibus
2 donat. Milites, qui in praesidio simul fuerant, duplici fru-
mento in perpetuum, in praesentia singulis bubus binisque

tunicis donati. Secundum consulis donationem legiones
gramineam coronam obsidalem, clamore donum approbantes,
Decio imponunt; altera corona, eiusdem honoris index, a
praesidio suo imposita est. His decoratus insignibus bovem 3
eximium Marti immolavit, centum boves militibus dono dedit,
qui secum in expeditione fuerant. Iisdem militibus legiones
libras farris et sextarios vini contulerunt; omniaque ea in-
genti alacritate per clamorem militarem, indicem omnium
assensus, gerebantur. Tertia pugna ad Suessulam commissa 4
est, qua fugatus a M. Valerio Samnitium exercitus, omni
robore iuventutis domo accito, certamine ultimo fortunam
experiri statuit. Ab Suessula nuntii trepidi Capuam, inde 5
equites citati ad Valerium consulem opem oratum veniunt.
Confestim signa mota, relictisque impedimentis ac castrorum 6
valido praesidio, raptim agitur agmen; nec procul ab hoste
locum perexiguum, ut quibus praeter equos ceterorum iu-
mentorum calorumque turba abesset, castris cepit. Sam- 7
nitium exercitus, velut haud ulla mora pugnae futura esset,
aciem instruit; deinde, postquam nemo obvius ibat, infestis
signis ad castra hostium succedit. Ibi ut militem in vallo 8
vidit, missique ab omni parte exploratum, quam in exiguum
orbem contracta castra essent, paucitatem inde hostium col-
ligentes rettulerunt, fremere omnis acies, complendas esse 9
fossas scindendumque vallum et in castra irrumpendum;
transactumque ea temeritate bellum foret, ni duces continuis-
sent impetum militum. Ceterum, quia multitudo sua, com- 10
meatibus gravis, et prius sedendo ad Suessulam et tum
certaminis mora haud procul ab rerum omnium inopia esset,
placuit, dum inclusus paveret hostis, frumentatum per agros
militem duci: interim Romano, qui expeditus, quantum 11
humeris inter arma geri posset frumenti, secum attulisset,
defutura omnia. Consul palatos per agros quum vidisset 12
hostes, stationes infrequentes relictas, paucis milites adhortatus

13 ad castra oppugnanda ducit. Quae quum primo clamore
atque impetu cepisset, pluribus hostium in tentoriis suis quam
in portis valloque caesis, signa captiva in unum locum con-
ferri iussit; relictisque duabus legionibus custodiae et praesidii
14 causa, gravi edicto monitis, ut, donec ipse revertisset,
praeda abstinerent, profectus agmine instructo, quum praemis-
sus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret,
15 caedem ingentem fecit. Nam neque, quo signo coirent
inter se, neque, utrum castra peterent an longiorem intende-
16 rent fugam, territis constare poterat; tantumque fugae ac
formidinis fuit, ut ad quadraginta millia scutorum, nequa-
quam tot caesis, et signa militaria cum iis, quae in castris
capta erant, ad centum septuaginta ad consulem deferrentur.
17 Tum in castra hostium reditum, ibique omnis praeda militi
data.

38. Huius certaminis fortuna et Faliscos, quum in indutiis
essent, foedus petere ab senatu coegit et Latinos, iam exerci-
tibus comparatis, ab Romano in Pelignum vertit bellum.
2 Neque ita rei gestae fama Italiae se finibus tenuit, sed Car-
thaginienses quoque legatos gratulatum Romam misere cum
coronae aureae dono, quae in Capitolio in Iovis cella pone-
3 retur; fuit pondo viginti quinque. Consules ambo de Sam-
nitibus triumpharunt, sequente Decio insigni cum laude
donisque, quum incondito militari ioco haud minus tribuni
4 celebre nomen quam consulum esset. Campanorum deinde
Suessulanorumque audita legationes, precantibusque datum,
ut praesidium eo in hiberna mitteretur, quo Samnitium ex-
5 cursiones arcerentur. Iam tum minime salubris militari
disciplinae Capua instrumento omnium voluptatum delentis
militum animos avertit a memoria patriae, inibanturque con-
silia in hibernis in eodem scelere adimendae Campanis Capuae,
6 per quod illi eam antiquis cultoribus ademissent: neque im-
merito suum ipsorum exemplum in eos versurum. Cur autem

potius Campani agrum Italiae uberrimum, dignam agro urbem, qui nec se nec sua tutari possent, quam victor exercitus haberet, qui suo sudore ac sanguine inde Samnites depulisset? An aequum esse, dediticios suos illa fertilitate atque amoenitate perfrui, se militando fessos in pestilenti atque arido circa urbem solo luctari aut in urbe insidentem tabem crescentis in dies fenoris pati? Haec agitata occultis coniurationibus necdum vulgata in omnes consilia invenit novus consul C. Marcius Rutilus, cui Campania sorte provincia evenerat, Q. Servilio collega ad urbem relicto. Itaque quum omnia ea, sicut gesta erant, per tribunos comperta haberet, et aetate et usu doctus, quippe qui iam quartum consul esset dictatorque et censor fuisset, optimum ratus differendo spem, quandocunque vellent, consilii exsequendi militarem impetum frustrari, rumorem dissipat, in iisdem oppidis et anno post praesidia hibernatura; divisa enim erant per Campaniae urbes, manaverantque a Capua consilia in exercitum omnem. Eo laxamento cogitationibus dato, quievit in praesentia seditio.

39. Consul, educto in aestiva milite, dum quietos Samnites habebat, exercitum purgare missionibus turbulentorum hominum instituit, aliis emerita dicendo stipendia esse, alios graves iam aetate aut viribus parum validos. Quidam in commeatus mittebantur, singuli primo, deinde et cohortes quaedam, quia procul ab domo ac rebus suis hibernassent; per speciem etiam militarium usum, quum alii alio mitterentur, magna pars ablegati. Quam multitudinem consul alter Romae praetorque, alias ex aliis fingendo moras, retinebat. Et primo quidem ignari ludificationis minime invitati domos revisebant; postquam neque reverti ad signa primos, nec ferme alium, quam qui in Campania hibernassent, praecipueque ex his seditionis auctores mitti viderunt, primum admiratio, deinde haud dubius timor incessit animos, con-

5 silia sua emanasse : iam quaestiones, iam indicia, iam occulta
singulorum supplicia impotensque et crudele consulum ac
6 patrum in se regnum passuros. Haec, qui in castris erant,
occultis sermonibus serunt, nervos coniurationis electos arte
7 consulis cernentes. Cohors una quum haud procul Anxure
esset, ad Lautulas saltu angusto inter mare ac montes con-
sedidit ad excipiendos, quos consul aliis atque aliis, ut ante
8 dictum est, causis mittebat. Iam valida admodum numero
manus erat, nec quicquam ad iusti exercitus formam praeter
ducem deerat. Incompositi itaque praedantes in agrum
Albanum perveniunt, et sub iugo Albae Longae castra vallo
9 cingunt. Perfecto inde opere, reliquum diei de imperatore
sumendo sentiis decertant, nulli ex praesentibus satis
10 fidentes : quem autem ab Roma posse exciri? quem patrum
aut plebis esse, qui aut se tanto periculo sciens offerat, aut
cui ex iniuria insanientis exercitus causa recte committatur?
11 Postero die quum eadem deliberatio teneret, ex praedatoribus
vagus quidam compertum attulerunt, T. Quinctium in Tuscu-
12 lano agrum colere, urbis honorumque immemorem. Patriciae
hic vir gentis erat, cui quum militiae magna cum gloria actae
finem pes alter ex vulnere claudus fecisset, ruri agere vitam
13 procul ambitione ac foro constituit. Nomine audito extemplo
agnovere virum et, quod bene verteret, acciri iusserunt. Sed
parum spei erat, voluntate quicquam facturum ; vim adhiberi
14 ac metum placuit. Itaque silentio noctis quum tectum villae,
qui ad id missi erant, intrassent, somno gravem Quinctium
oppressum, nihil medium, aut imperium atque honorem aut,
ubi restitaret, mortem, ni sequeretur, denuntiantes, in castra
15 pertraxerunt. Imperator extemplo adveniens appellatus, in-
signiaque honoris exterrito subitae rei miraculo deferunt, et
16 ad urbem ducere iubent. Suo magis inde impetu quam con-
silio ducis convulsis signis, infesto agmine ad lapidem octavum
17 viae, quae nunc Appia est, perveniunt ; issentque confestim

ad urbem, ni venire contra exercitum dictatoremque adversus se M. Valerium Corvum dictum audissent, et magistrum equitum L. Aemilium Mamercinum.

40. Ubi primum in conspectum ventum est *et* arma signaque agnovere, extemplo omnibus memoria patriae iras permulsit. Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem, nec 2 praeter externa noverant bella ultimaque rabies secessio ab suis habebatur; itaque iam duces, iam milites utrinque congressus quaerere ac colloquia, Quinctius, quem armorum 3 etiam pro patria satietas teneret, nedum adversus patriam, Corvus omnes caritate cives, praecipue milites et ante alios suum exercitum complexus. *Is* ad colloquium processit. Cognito ei extemplo haud minore ab adversariis verecundia 4 quam ab suis silentium datum. ‘Deos’ inquit, ‘immortales, milites, vestros publicos meosque, ab urbe proficiscens ita adoravi veniamque supplex poposci, ut mihi de vobis concordiae partae gloriam, non victoriam darent. Satis fuit 5 eritque, unde belli decus pariat; hinc pax petenda est. Quod deos immortales inter nuncupanda vota expoposci, eius me compotem voti vos facere potestis, si meminisse vultis, non vos in Samnio nec in Volscis, sed in Romano 6 solo castra habere, si illos colles, quos cernitis, patriae vestrae esse, si hunc exercitum civium vestrorum, si me consulem vestrum, cuius ductu auspicioque priore anno bis legiones Samnitium fudistis, bis castra vi cepistis. Ego sum M. 7 Valerius Corvus, milites, cuius vos nobilitatem beneficiis erga vos, non iniuriis sensitis, nullius superbae in vos legis, nullius crudelis senatus consulti auctor, in omnibus meis imperiis in me severior quam in vos. Ac si cui genus, si cui sua 8 virtus, si cui etiam maiestas, si cui honores subdere spiritus potuerunt, iis eram natus, id specimen mei dederam, ea aetate consulatum adeptus eram, ut potuerim tres et viginti annos natus consul patribus quoque ferox esse, non solum

9 plebi. Quod meum factum dictumve consulis gravius quam
tribuni audistis? Eodem tenore duo insequentes consulatus
gessi, eodem haec imperiosa dictatura geretur; neque in hos
meos et patriae meae milites mitior quam in vos (horreo
10 dicere) hostes ero. Vos prius in me strinxeritis ferrum quam
in vos ego; istinc signa canent, istinc clamor prius incipiet
11 atque impetus, si dimicandum est. Inducite in animum,
quod non induxerunt patres avique vestri, non illi, qui in
Sacrum montem secesserunt, non hi, qui postea Aventinum
12 insederunt. Exspectate, dum vobis singulis, ut olim Corio-
lano, matres coniugesque crinibus passis obviae ab urbe
veniant. Tum Volscorum legiones, quia Romanum habe-
bant ducem, quieverunt; vos, Romanus exercitus, ne desti-
13 teritis impio bello? T. Quincti, quocunque istic loco seu
volens seu invitus constitisti, si dimicandum erit, tum tu in
novissimos te recipito; fugeris etiam honestius tergumque
14 civi dederis, quam pugnaveris contra patriam. Nunc ad
pacificandum bene atque honeste inter primos stabis et col-
loquii huius salutaris interpret fueris. Postulate aequa et
ferre; quanquam vel iniquis standum est potius, quam im-
15 pias inter nos conseramus manus.' T. Quinctius plenus
lacrimarum ad suos versus 'Me quoque' inquit, 'milites, si
quis usus mei est, meliorem pacis quam belli habetis ducem.
16 Non enim illa modo Volscus aut Samnis, sed Romanus
verba fecit, vester consul, vester imperator, milites, cuius
auspicia pro vobis experti nolite adversus vos velle experiri.
17 Qui pugnarent vobiscum infestius, et alios duces senatus
habuit; qui maxime vobis, suis militibus, parceret, cui pluri-
18 mum vos, imperatori vestro, crederetis, eum elegit. Pacem
etiam, qui vincere possunt, volunt; quid nos velle oportet?
19 Quin omissis ira et spe, fallacibus auctoribus, nos ipsos nos-
traque omnia cognitae permittimus fidei?'

41. Approbantibus clamore cunctis, T. Quinctius ante

signa progressus in potestate dictatoris milites fore dixit; oravit, ut causam miserorum civium susciperet, susceptamque eadem fide, qua rem publicam administrare solitus esset, tueretur. Sibi se privatim nihil cavere; nolle alibi quam in 2 innocentia spem habere; militibus cavendum, quod apud patres semel plebi, iterum legionibus cautum sit, ne fraudi secessio esset. Quintio collaudato, ceteris bonum animum 3 habere iussis, dictator equo citato ad urbem revectus, auctoribus patribus tulit ad populum in luco Petelino, ne cui militum fraudi secessio esset. Oravit etiam bona venia Quirites, ne quis eam rem ioco seriove cuiquam exprobraret. Lex quoque sacra militaris lata est, ne cuius militis scripti 4 nomen nisi ipso volente deleretur; additumque legi, ne quis, ubi tribunus militum fuisset, postea ordinum ductor esset. Id 5 propter P. Salonium postulatum est ab coniuratis, qui alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili appellant. Huic infensi milites erant, quod 6 semper adversatus novis consiliis fuisset et, ne particeps eorum esset, ab Lautulis fugisset. Itaque quum hoc unum propter 7 Salonium ab senatu non impetraretur, tum Saloni obtestatus patres conscriptos, ne suum honorem pluris quam concordiam civitatis aestimarent, perpulit, ut id quoque ferretur. Aequae 8 impotens postulatum fuit, ut de stipendio equitum (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) aera demerentur, quod adversati coniurationi fuissent.

42. Praeter haec invenio apud quosdam, L. Genucium tribunum plebis tulisse ad plebem, ne fenerare liceret; item 2 aliis plebiscitis cautum, ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem annos caperet, neu duos magistratus uno anno gereret, utique liceret consules ambos plebeios creari. Quae si omnia concessa sunt plebi, apparet, haud parvas vires defectionem habuisse. Aliis annalibus proditum est, neque dictatorem 3 Valerium dictum, sed per consules omnem rem actam, neque

antequam Romam veniretur, sed Romae eam multitudinem
4 coniuratorum ad arma consternatam esse, nec in T. Quinctii
villam, sed in aedes C. Manlii nocte impetum factum eum-
que a coniuratis comprehensum, ut dux fieret; inde ad quar-
5 tum lapidem profectos loco munito consedis-
se; nec ab
ducibus mentionem concordiae ortam, sed repente, quum in
6 aciem armati exercitus processissent, salutationem factam, et
permixtos dextras iungere ac complecti inter se lacrimantes
milites coepisse, coactosque consules, quum viderent aversos
a dimicatione militum animos, rettulisse ad patres de con-
7 cordia reconcilianda. Adeo nihil, praeterquam seditionem
fuisse eamque compositam, inter antiquos rerum auctores
8 constat. Et huius fama seditionis et susceptum cum Sam-
nitibus grave bellum aliquot populos ab Romana societate
avertit, et, praeter Latinorum infidum iam diu foedus, Priver-
nates etiam Norbam atque Setiam, finitimas colonias Ro-
manas, incursione subita depopulati sunt.

N O T E S.

BOOK V.

Chap. 1, § 1. Comitia. 'Comitium ab eo quod coibant eo,' says an old Latin writer. The three Roman Comitia were the *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, and *Tributa*. The distinctive name was given to each, according to the manner in which the voting was conducted. At the *Curiata*, the people voted in 'curiae.' Romulus was said to have divided his subjects into thirty curiae, ten for each of his three Tribes, each curia containing ten gentes. Originally, it was the important assembly; afterwards, its functions became limited to ceremonial matters, e. g. the choice of certain priests, and the adoption ('arrogatio') of persons who were 'sui iuris.' In the *Centuriata* the people voted according to their centuries, the division attributed to Servius Tullius, and based upon property qualifications. To this assembly were limited the choice of some of the higher magistrates, the decision of matters of war and peace, and questions affecting the life and 'civitas' of any citizen: this last power being practically taken away by the legislation of Sulla. In the *Tributa* the voting was done by the people in their tribes: its first meeting is said to have been held at the trial of Coriolanus, after the appointment of 'tribuni plebis.' Politically speaking, this was the democratic assembly as distinct from the oligarchical senate. See Smith's Dict. Antiq. *Infra* 52. 16 'Comitia curiata quae rem militarem continent, comitia centuriata quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis.'

§ 2. tribuni militum consulari potestate. First appointed B.C. 444, cf. Book 4. 7. They were elected to the chief magistracy in the place of consuls, as a device to prevent the surrender to the plebs of the right of eligibility to the consulship.

octo, quot nunquam antea. At first, three were chosen, then four (4. 35). So the 'tribuni plebis' were at first two in number (2. 33): these chose three colleagues; and after the decemviri (3. 54) ten were elected, B.C. 449.

iterum, tertium. These numerals coupled to the names of officials refer to the number of times they had been elected, 'for the second, third time.' Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 5. 4 'Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa.'

§ 3. taedio annuae ambitionis, 'tired of the annual electioneering.'

regem creavere. In 4. 17 the Veientians had a king, Lars Tolumnius.

non maiore odio, &c. Compare the Greek use of οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ, generally to be rendered 'not so much . . . as.' 'Not so much from a dislike to royalty as to the individual chosen.'

§ 4. *is*, 'the man.'

genti, 'the whole nation.'

§ 5. *artifices*, 'the actors.' Cp. 7. 2. 6 '*Vernaculis artificibus . . . nomen histrionibus inditum.*'

§ 6. *religionibus*, 'religious festivals.'

colendi, 'celebrating.'

§ 7. *qui . . . a quo.* The antecedent to 'a quo' is 'eum,' which comes in the next clause, 'who promised to treat anyone, by whom any such news should be said to have been reported, as a ringleader of rebellion, and not merely the author of idle gossip.'

§ 8. *Romanis, etsi . . . ita muniebant.* For a similar construction, cp. 22. 29. 9 '*Nobis, quoniam prima . . . negata sors est, secundum teneamus.*'

§ 9. *ancipitia (ambo, caput)*, 'facing two ways.'

aliis, sc. 'munimentis,' is the ablative, 'auxiliis' the dative after 'obstruebatur.' The literal meaning is, 'by the other works the side facing Etruria was protected against any assistance, &c.' *Alia . . . alia*, used of two lines of fortifications, probably to avoid *alter* in the plural.

Chap. 2, § 1. *res nova*, 'a new experience.'

continuate, 'to carry on without a break.'

§ 2. *novandi res*, 'of agitation.' Cp. '*novae res*' = a revolution, and νεωτερίσεις.

sollicitant. They work upon the feelings of the commons.

§ 3. *Hoc illud esse . . . quod* = This then was the reason why. Cf. Eur. Helena 622 τοῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖνο. Regular pay was first given to the troops about three years before this time, in B.C. 406. See 4. 59. 11 '*Omnium maxime tempestivum principum in multitudinem munus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet;*' and note the tribunes' opposition to it in 4. 60, where they use arguments which are replied to by Appius Claudius (infra, cap. 3).

§ 4. *Venisse*, from 'veneo.'

iuventutem. The regular word for 'soldiery;' as infra, § 5, '*iuvenum.*' 'Juvenis' included persons between the ages of about 20 and 40; cf. 6. 2. 6 '*Dilectum iuniorum habuit, ita ut seniores quoque in verba sua iuratos centuriaret.*' Gellius says that soldiers were called '*iuniores*' by Servius Tullius up to the age of 46, and after that '*seniores.*'

§ 7. *durare*, 'was persevering,' 'holding on.'

quae . . . sit. In Livy's use of *Oratio Obliqua*, of which this chapter gives a good instance, the present tenses of the subjunctive are constantly employed with considerable freedom and effect; *infra*, § 10, 'qui . . . admoneat'; and cp. I. 9. 14, 15; 4. 2; 4. 35. 'Sit' is here present because the statement is of universal application, a general truth, 'winter which is a time of rest for every man.'

§ 8. *Hoc*, with *servitutis*, 'such a badge of slavery.'

Tribuni plebis were appointed in a.c. 494 after the first secession of the plebs.

triste dictatoris imperium. There was no appeal ('*provocatio*') from the sentence of a dictator. Cp. 4. 26 'severissimi imperii virum dictatorem dixit.'

triste = stern.

importunos = cruel, tyrannical.

ut . . . facerent. Explanatory of '*Hoc . . . servitutis.*'

Quod tribuni . . . exercebant. In this, and the question in the next section, Livy writes as though '*rogitantes*' were expressed; for in ordinary *Oratio Obliqua*, questions in the 1st and 3rd persons are turned into the infinitive mood, questions in the 2nd into the subjunctive. Weissenborn quotes 7. 15. 2 '*Ecquis sequeretur eorum qui . . .*' but there '*increpans rogitanque*' precedes the semi-*Oratio Obliqua*.

§ 9. *ulli plebeio.* The first plebeian elected as '*tribunus militum consulari potestate*' was P. Licinius Calvus; *infra*, 12. 9.

§ 10. *obtinenda* = to administer their office. Cp. 30. 19 '*Ut Galliam atque Italiam armis obtineant.*' The use of '*obtinere*' = 'to get' as well as 'to hold' is quite classical; but with official duties the latter is more usually the meaning conveyed.

in turba . . . haerere. Weissenborn quotes Cic. *Vat.* 5. 11 '*Nunc te . . . extremum haesisse.*'

§ 11. *cives eorum*, 'their fellow-citizens.' '*Eorum*' refers to '*collegas.*'

§ 13. *Appius Claudius.* The family was of Sabine origin, and had migrated to Rome, 2. 16. This idea of rendering the tribunes powerless had occurred as early as 480 to a member of the family (2. 44); and in 4. 36. 5, the son of the decemvir was left in Rome: '*Praefectum urbis relinquunt, impigrum iuvenem et iam inde ab incunabulis imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque.*' This one is the grandson of the decemvir, 4. 48. 6 '*proavum enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse patribus viam unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per collegarum intercessionem.*' The deadlock caused by such a proceeding is well illustrated in the time of Tib. Gracchus, whose colleague Octavius vetoed his laws and was deposed.

Chap. 3, § 2. *vestra an sua causa* = for your interest or their own.

§ 3. *secundis potissimum*, 'because this mistake has been corrected

at a time, of *all others*, when you are prosperous.' 'Potissimum,' lit. = most preferably, being the superlative of 'potius,' and is constantly used thus to qualify an adjective.

§ 4. *quisquam*. The answer would be negative, and is negative in form, therefore the negative pronoun is used.

si quae . . . fuerunt. The indicative shows that the speaker admits that some wrongs have been done. 'Has any man a doubt that no wrongs done by us, granting that some have perhaps been done, ever annoyed and excited the tribunes as much as the concession of the patricians to the plebs, when pay was established for men on service?'

§ 5. *quam dissolvendae . . . esse*, 'which, they think, more than anything else is calculated to destroy.' The genitive of the gerundive after 'esse' is an imitation of the common genitive with 'esse' = to be the mark of.

§ 6. *hercule*, 'in effect.'

artifex improbi, 'unscrupulous doctors.' 'Artifex' is rather used of a man versed in 'artes non sordidae'; for 'sordidae artes' (*βάνανσοι τέχναι*) 'opifex' is used.

ut sit, ad cuius. 'That there may be some object for the treatment of which they may be employed (called in) by you.'

§ 8. *et, quemadmodum, &c.* 'And just as a master forbids strangers to have any dealings with his slaves.'

in iis, i.e. in the case of slaves, his own and another's.

interdicere is used with several constructions; *interdicere alicui* ne, *alicui aliquid*, *alicui aliqua re*, *aliquem aliqua re*.

dicto audiens. This dative after 'audio' is quite classical; and even a personal dative is used by Livy 1. 41 'Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse;' 4. 26 'Placere consules senatui dicto audientes esse.'

§ 9. *quanto magis vos oportuit*, together.

non dico, 'the feeling, I do not say of a fellow-countryman, but of a man.'

§ 10. *maximum*, predicate.

Chap. 4, § 1. *infecta re*, ἀπρακτοί, before their object is gained.

ipsa, the actual position of the men on service.

§ 2. *disceptante* = diiudicante, acting as judge.

§ 3. *quibus, &c.* The infin. 'iniungi' depends on 'indignari possunt,' 'that some additional work in proportion is assigned to men who have received an additional advantage.'

§ 4. *labor, &c.* Weiss. quotes Plato, Phaedo 60 B 'ὅς ἀποπον, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔοικέ τι εἶναι τοῦτο, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἡδὺ ὡς θανάσιος πέφυκε πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐναντίον εἶναι, τὸ λυπηρόν, . . . ἐὰν δέ τις διώκῃ τὸ ἕτερον καὶ λαμβάνῃ, σχεδὸν τι ἀναγκάζεσθαι δεῖ λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένῳ δὴ ὄντε,

societate quadam, 'are united to one another by a kind of natural tie.'

§ 5. *suo sumptu*. The burdens to which the yeoman-soldier was subject are well illustrated in 2. 23. 5 'Direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum.'

partem anni = half the year.

quaerere, unde . . . posset = obtain the means to support.

§ 7. *ad calculos vocare*. Cicero uses this phrase *De Amic.* 16. 58 'ad calculos vocare amicitiam.'

solidum, full, cf. *ῥῆσος*, *sollus*, *sollemnis*, *sollistimus*.

§ 8. *agere*, 'deal,' 'bargain.'

§ 10. *spei nostrae*, 'if we do not withdraw until we have crowned our hopes by the capture of Veii.'

indignitas. Probably = *rei indignitas*, 'the disgrace of our position,' 'the slur upon us;' *infra* 45. 6 'indignitas' is joined with 'ira,' and means 'indignation.'

§ 11. *quot terras*. Accus. of extension over space, as always: e.g. 'tria millia passuum abest.' 'Distans' is nom. agreeing with 'urbs.'

§ 12. *annuam* = for a year.

Sollioet, 'it must be that,' 'surely.' Ironical.

satis quicquam, 'nor is any amount of genuine suffering enough to:' or 'satis quicquam' may be redundant, 'nor is there in any way enough genuine, &c.'

§ 13. *Septies rebellarunt*. Cp. 4. 32. 2 'Veientem hostem sexies victum.'

Fidenates deficere. For the revolt of Fidenae and the murder of the Roman envoys, see 4. 17.

§ 14. *Etruriam omnem concitare*. Cp. 4. 23. 5 'Legatis circa XII populos missis, ut ad Voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium.'

Chap. 5, § 1. *illa*, referring to what follows.

§ 3. *quis est, qui dubitet, . . . invasuros*? 'Who can doubt for a moment that they will?' Usually, 'dubito' with infin. = I hesitate to, with 'quin' = I doubt. Cp. *supra* 3. 4 'qui dubitet . . . tribunos plebis offensos ac concitados esse.'

a cupiditate. The preposition is emphatic, 'out of.'

§ 4. *Quid?* &c. 'What? The special interest of the soldier (from whom these worthy tribunes of the plebs at the time wished to take away their pay, now that it is agreed to, suddenly are anxious for it), what is its true nature?' Weiss. reads 'cum' for 'tum;' explaining, 'after that they had fruitlessly endeavoured.'

§ 5. *per tantum spatii*, 'over an enormous extent of ground.'

si qua veniant, opposuere. The dependent verb is in the *pres.*

subj. because the principal verb is in the present-perfect, 'They have established here, in case any should come.'

§ 6. The 'vinea' and 'testudo' are often used of the same kind of military engine, a penthouse of wood supported on upright posts under which a ram could be worked, or undermining of the walls go on. When they are distinguished, the 'testudo' refers to that mode of attack by which the besiegers marched up to the walls of a city with their shields raised above their heads; and when close to the wall, the front rank standing and the rear kneeling, other soldiers advanced along the inclined plane of shields to attack the enemy.

perventum est, sc. 'a nostris militibus.' The passives of 'eo' and 'venio' are thus used impersonally: when, e.g. 'adeo,' 'ineo,' they can be used personally, the active voice must have had a transitive, not a neuter meaning.

§ 7. *uno tenore*, 'uninterruptedly.'

spem nostram, 'our prospects.'

§ 8. *periculi*, gen. after 'oblivisci.'

§ 10. *maior* = more influential.

frequentior = more numerous.

consensu, 'by the unanimous vote.'

§ 11. *res* = results, effects.

illam viam consilii = that line of policy.

§ 12. *non hercule*, &c. 'And, in fact, it is just as if, dealing with an invalid, who, if he submitted to vigorous treatment, might immediately begin to recover, one were to make his illness protracted and perhaps incurable, for the sake of a moment's (pleasure in) food or drink.'

For *dissimilia* *ao*, cp. Cic. ad Her. 3. 6. 12 'dissimiles atque ille;' Ad Att. 2. 3. 3 'non dissimile atque ire.'

Chap. 6, § 1. *mediusfidius*. 'Fidius' is an epithet of Jupiter, corresponding to the *Zeus Hektorios* of the Greek; cp. Plaut. Asin. 1. 1. 8 'deum Fidium quaeris.' 'Medius' is a compound of 'deus' or 'dius,' and the particle 'me,' which in 'Ecastor' has lost the 'm.'

intererat, for 'interesset.' 'It surely was of great importance.' The indicative here used may be compared with the common idiom in which it is followed by 'nisi.' Hor. Odes, 2. 17. 27 :—

'Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset.'

and Livy 2. 10. 2 'Pons publicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset.'

parata, 'ready to hand,' i.e. easily won.

§ 2. *quamvis serae*, 'however long-deferred.'

tecta ac recessum. Hendiadys, 'to return to their homes.'

§ 3. *vel lusus*, 'even amusement.'

§ 4. *navale bellum*. The simile is out of date as put by Livy in the mouth of Appius, since (B.C. 403) the Romans had not yet any experience of fleets of war, so far as we know. C. Duilius, their first admiral, defeated the Carthaginians nearly a century and a half later, B.C. 261.

tempestatibus captandis, 'by seizing the right weather,' 'by watching for fair weather.'

§ 5. *patientia*, 'endurance.'

§ 6. *non Veios*, 'not merely to look to Veii, and to the war we are at present engaged in.'

§ 7. *eum esse cuius*, 'that the Romans are a nation from whom, if a city withstands the first shock of their attack, nothing need afterwards be feared.'

§ 8. *hic* = such.

longinquum. The word is used of distance both in space and in time, and the chief point here is of time: = protracted.

§ 9. *quae*, i.e. 'perseverantia.'

tempus ipsum, 'time unaided.'

§ 11. *optatum aequè contingere*. 'Is there anything that could happen more as the Veientians wish?'

§ 12. *novatum sit*. Chap. 2. 2.

§ 14. *fustuarium*. Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 14 'fustuarium meruerunt legiones quae consulem reliquerunt.' The punishment was beating to death with rods, and is described by Polybius, 6. 35.

auctores. The datives, 'Uni aut alteri militi, sed universis exercitibus,' depend on this word: 'men who advise not merely one or two soldiers, but whole troops to leave their colours and desert their camp.'

§ 15. *adeo*, 'to such an extent,' qualifying 'assuestis:' it may be rendered, 'so strangely.'

prodendae patriae = calculated to betray; supra, 3. 5 'dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis esse.'

capti, 'deluded.'

§ 16. *agant*, 'discuss.'

Chap. 7, § 1. *unde minime quis*, 'quis' = anyone, one, is more commonly used with 'si,' 'ne,' 'nisi,' 'quum.' 'From a quarter whence one would least expect it.'

maiolem fecit, 'increased the harmony of the Orders, and stimulated their enthusiasm.'

§ 2. *tantum non*, *ὅσον οὐ*, 'all but.'

interdiu, 'in the daytime.'

§ 4. *tum vero*, 'now, most assuredly.'

velut ab se victa, 'were, so to speak, exulting over the government which they had defeated.'

§ 5. *quibus census equester . . . equi publici non . . . assignati.* These would be men whose income would have entitled them to a position in the eighteen centuries of the 'equites,' established (1.43) by Servius Tullius, but who were not admitted to them. The nominal distinction remained down to the time of Cicero; Phil. 6. 12 'Altera ab equitibus Romanis equo publico.' The narrative here recalls the tale of the Fabii, 2. 48. 8, &c., which was also a part of the history of the struggle against Veii.

stipendia facturos. 'Mereri stipendia' is also used. The word 'stipendia,' which means the soldier's pay, is taken as equivalent to the service for which the pay is given.

§ 6. *Curia.* The word is connected with 'Quiris,' 'Quirites,' 'Curetes.' Originally it applied to any place of meeting for the religious services of a 'curia,' one of the thirty divisions of the people established by Romulus. Specially, it is the Curia Hostilia, built by Tullus Hostilius, in which the senate held its meetings.

§ 7. Madvig makes the ordinary text more intelligible by bracketing 'se' and 'que' as superfluous. 'Now, they say, it is the duty of the foot-soldiers to offer extraordinary service to the government.'

velint, sc. 'imperatores, magistratus.'

§ 8. *non enim . . . iussi.* 'There was not, as with the Equites, an order made that the magistrates should thank them.' For the passive use of 'iubeo,' cp. 9. 37. 10 'Aurum iussum referri;' 24. 45. 9 'Auri pondus ei servari iussum.'

§ 9. *pro se quisque.* The senators, individually; each in his own manner.

comitio. The 'comitium' was the name of a place near the Forum used for public meetings, 1. 36. 5 'in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae.'

§ 10. *laudibus ferre,* 'praise to the skies,' extol.'

§ 12. *pietas* is the feeling of duty towards gods, parents, and country: and conversely, the reciprocal feelings of kindness from gods to men, parents to children. For its various meanings an index to Virgil should be consulted.

placere procedere. In this sense of passing a resolution 'placere' is used with simple infinitive, 'ut' with subj., and gerundival construction. For 'procedere,' cp. 25. 5 'stipendia procedere.'

numerus aeris, 'amount of pay.' Cp. 12. 12 'qui tribunus militum triplex stipendium equitibus dederat.'

§ 13. *subvehi,* 'taken up stream,' Veii being in Etruria. Cp. 24. 40 'flumine adverso subvectus.'

Chap. 8, § 2. *cura omnium* = general interest.

vacationibus. The 'vacatio' was the furlough, or leave of absence granted to the soldiers. In imperial times, the complaint is made that the inferior officers, e.g. centurions, extorted large amounts of money from the soldiers before they would grant such leave. Cp. Tac. Ann. i. 17. Otherwise it stands for 'exemption from service'; Livy 8. 20 'scribere exercitum sine ulla vacationis venia.'

receptando. The frequentative shows that the practice was habitual.

§ 3. *minus*, 'less,' 'fewer than one would have expected.'

lixas, joined with 'negotiatores,' Tac. Ann. 2. 62. For their demoralising influence on camp discipline, cp. Sall. Jug. 44, 45. The mention of trade has a certain interest, as this element of Roman life is apt to be obscured by the ceaseless 'annual register' of war after war with which the history of Rome so plentifully abounds. The destruction of Carthage and that of Corinth have both been rightly referred to commercial jealousy.

§ 4. *quod . . . caput*. This attraction of the relative into the case of the word in apposition is not uncommon. Madvig, Lat. Gr. 316. Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 54 'Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii Populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit.'

plus, with *animi* and *irarum*. Cp. cap. 9. 5 'plus in iis iuris quam in vobis animi.'

§ 5. *proximi regione*, 'nearest in position,' 'nearest geographically.' *devictis Veis*. Hypothetical, 'if Veii were conquered.'

bello Romano proximos, 'next exposed to war with Rome.' 'propius' and 'proxime' are used with dat., acc., and abl. Virg. G. i. 355 'propius stabulis'; Sall. Jug. 18 'propius mare'; Cic. Tusc. i. 26 'propius aberat ab ortu.'

§ 6. *infesti*, 'antagonistic,' 'ready to fight.'

Fidenati bello; 4. 17. 11 'legiones Faliscorum auxilio venerunt.' *Ibid.* 18.

ultra citroque = on both sides, in all directions. Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 108 :—

'Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.'

neopinato. The particle 'nec,' as an inseparable negative, appears in 'negotium' (nec-otium), 'neglego' (nec-lego), and with 'c' dropped in 'nequaquam,' 'nequicquam.'

§ 8. *concurantes*, 'in confusion.'

satis, 'properly,' 'completely.' There is a certain delicacy of language in the use of this word, which avoids a more pronounced expression. Cp. Preface to Book i, ad init. 'nec satis scio.'

§ 9. *subveniretur*, impers. 'if help were to be sent.'

§ 10. *castella*, detached forts, or bastions, standing at intervals along the lines of fortification; as in Caes. B. Gall. i. 8.

in armis = sub armis: 'ready for battle.'

si opus, &c., depends on 'dictitans . . . missurum.'

§ 12. **praeesse legatos**, 'that the legates (subordinate officers) should command the troops.'

§ 13. **cortatum**. Impersonal passive use of neuter verb; cf. *itur, saevitum est, ventum est, laboratur*. 'The two colleagues attacked each other with recriminations.'

pauci, &c. 'Ceteri' or 'plerique' should be supplied before 'huic atque illi.' Cp. Tac. Ann. i. 63 'ut opus et alii proelium inciperent;' and Livy 3. 37. 'Few think of the public good, most support the one or the other, according as party spirit or personal feeling had influenced them.' 'Quosque' refers to the supporters of Sergius and Verginius respectively. 'Occupaverant' is the reading of Madvig; but as 'eis studium aut gratia' is the subject, it is hard to see any reason for the plural.

Chap. 9, § 1. iustum tempus. So 'iustum proelium, iustus exercitus.' The ordinary and right time for 'tribuni militum' in the place of consuls to take office would be the 13th of December.

calendas. The root is Kal-, cal-, as in Greek *καλέω*. Cf. *calata comitia, cla-mo*.

occipio. The word is not used by Cicero or Caesar.

§ 2. **In quam sententiam**. 'When a division was taken in support of this proposal.' Senators who wished to support a motion used frequently to signify their assent by taking their seats near the proposer of it. 'Discessio' is also used for a division. Pro Sest. 74 'fieretque sine ulla varietate discessio.'

§ 3. **intercedere**. This is the technical word for the veto of the tribunes of the plebs. From other authorities it appears to have been exercised as a right of protest by other officials; or it might be used in the general sense of 'impede,' 'obstruct.'

sollemnem, from 'sollus,' i. e. 'totus-annus,' meaning that which happens every year; thus, usual, annual.

§ 4. **quum in concordia**. The remark is characteristic of Livy's attitude towards the conduct of the tribunes of the plebs.

nisi in auctoritate, 'if they refused to submit to the senate.' The power of the tribunes of the plebs to imprison other officials is questioned in the next clause. In 2. 56 Laetorius a tribune orders the removal and arrest of some young nobles. This is resisted by the consul; and Laetorius sends his officer to arrest the consul himself, who retaliates by sending a lictor to seize the tribune.

§ 5. **ne**, a particle of asseveration, 'I should indeed be glad to test.'

§ 6. **locum iniuriæ**, 'an excuse for wrong doing.'

pertinacius, 'too obstinately;' ellipse of 'quam rectum est,' or some similar phrase.

§ 7. *terriculis*. The diminutive is evidently meant here to express contempt. Cicero and Caesar do not use the word.

Chap 10, § 1. *M.* abbreviation for Manius. *K.* for Kaeso.

§ 3. *tributum* is the special term for 'war-tax,' the Greek *εἰσφορά*.

laboratum est, 'there was a difficulty.'

cooptandis. This form of election by the officials already elected choosing others as their colleagues chiefly obtained in the priestly offices. Cic. Brut. 1 'in collegium augurum.' The 'rogationis carmen,' cited in Livy 3. 64. 9, shows that the tribunes of the plebs had a right to choose colleagues: 'quos hi sibi collegas cooptassint, legitimi eadem lege tribuni plebei sint.' Infra, §§ 10, 11.

duo iudicia, 'the two trials'—of Sergius and Verginius.

§ 4. *iuniores . . . seniores*. See supra, note on 1. 4.

§ 5. *ea conficiebatur*, 'it was raised.' 'Conficere pecuniam' is to make up or put together a sum of money. Cic. Fl. 9. 20 'conficiendae pecuniae rationes.' In 6, infra, it is used for 'ruin,' 'wear out.'

tuentibus, dative after the gerundive 'laborandum.'

rei publicae, dative after *servire*.

§ 6. *seditionis*, 'inflammatory.'

oontio is used both of 'a meeting' and of a 'harangue' delivered at a meeting.

arguendo. The ablative of the gerund is used in Latin where Greek would usually have a particle in agreement with the substantive.

§ 7. *pueros . . . extractos*. It is worth noticing that Livy's choice of words very aptly reproduces the emphatic language that would be employed by the speakers.

§ 9. *vectigalis . . . facta sit*, 'has been brought to the worst form (extremity) of taxation.'

affecta, 'ruined,' 'exhausted.'

re familiari. The regular phrase for property, because the 'paterfamilias,' or head of the family, was the responsible owner according to the civil law.

fenore accepta, 'borrowed at interest.' Cp. *acceptum, expensum referre*.

patricii. Cp. 2. 33. 1 'neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret.'

For *tribunicia*, which is in the MSS., Weissenborn reads 'Treboniae.' Madvig brackets 'tribuniciae' as spurious.

Chap. 11, § 1. *debitum praestare*, 'to owe it as a duty.' 'Praestare' in this sense is 'to guarantee,' 'make good.'

§ 2. *quondam*. Cp. 3. 64, 65. Other readings are 'quidam,' 'nequidquam,' 'Quod petissent' depends upon 'expugnasse,' 'Tribunos

plebis' has been conjectured, but on obviously insufficient grounds; and Livy has said nothing about the 'tribuni militum' having acted in this matter: therefore Madvig inclines to bracket 'tribunos militum' as doubtful. The 'lex Trebonia,' s.c. 448 (3. 65), provided that if, in the case of an election of tribunes of the plebs, the places were not filled up, the presiding official should continue the voting until the number was completed.

asseclae, 'satellites.' The word is derived from 'ad-sequor,' and is used by Cicero.

§ 3. **arguere**. Historic infin. for indic., not the infin. of *Oratio Obliqua*; = he maintained.

§ 4. **trepidi**, with objective genitive as in 36. 31, and *Aen.* 12. 589 'trepidæ rerum.' Tac. Ann. 6. 21 'trepidi admirationis ac metus.'

diæ dicta; 'diem dicere,' to appoint a day, i. e. for trial.

§ 5. **clade**, supra, cap. 8. The ablative of the cause, = ob cladem acceptam.

affinibus, lit. neighbours, from ad and finis. In the Digest the 'affines' are relatives by marriage; e. g. 'socer,' 'gener,' 'nurus,' &c., distinguished from 'consanguinei.'

exsequendi = of satisfying.

§ 6. **causam conferant**, 'lay the blame.'

§ 7. The construction here, accus. and infin., is still the *Oratio Obliqua*, part of the allegation of the tribunes: **eam rem** = the defeat was brought about by agreement and general collusion of the patrians.

§ 9. **commoda**. E. g. the question of usury, the claims of plebeians to the office of tribuni militum or consul, &c., which occur in this and the succeeding book.

frequentia . . . actiones, 'repeat, push on their proposals before crowded audiences in the city.' 'Celebro' in this sense = to practise constantly or frequently. Cp. 6. 32. 1 'celebrari de integro iurisdiction.' 'Actio' is used (1) of duties generally, official duties; (2) of special suits or proceedings. Cp. 4. 55 'nulla erat consularis actio,' and infra, 49. 8 'tribunis rem intentius agentibus;' 29. 1 'tribunorum actiones.'

conspiratio. Frequently used in a good sense, with 'consensus,' by Cicero.

§ 10. **Præiudiciū**. Sentence was already passed.

§ 11. **stare**. Cp. *Aen.* 1. 268 'dum res stetit Ilia regno;' 2. 55 'Troiaque nunc staret.'

§ 12. **confossos**. The metaphorical use of 'confodio' as here is rare. **defunctos** = that they were quite safe, out of danger. Ter. Eun. prologue 'defunctus iam sum.'

privati, retired from office two months before their time.

§ 13. *sibi*, dative after 'ereptam esse.'

§ 14. *repeterent*, imper. *Oratio Obliqua*. 'Let the men of Rome recall the feelings.'

oium pavore. The preposition is necessary, because otherwise the ablative of the substantive would not be used without a qualifying adjective: it is also emphatic, 'in utter panic.'

§ 15. *caput*. The word is used in imprecations and adjurations. *Aen.* 4. 357 'Testor utrumque caput.'

§ 16. 'It was (they said) absolutely inconsistent not to exercise their own power, when lawful and right, in dealing with men upon whom every one had invoked the anger of the gods.'

admovere manus, 'lay hands upon.' For a somewhat extended view, cp. *Tac. Ann.* 1. 73 'deorum iniurias dis curae.'

Chap. 12, § 1. *aeris gravis*, 'money of full weight,' in which the *As* = one pound, about 8*d.* of our money. In the first Punic War, the *As* was reduced to one-sixth of its previous weight; as it originally consisted of 12 *unciae*, this made it = 2 ounces. In the second Punic War, when *Fabius Maximus Cunctator* was dictator ('*unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*'), it was again reduced one-half: and finally by the *Lex Papiria*, B.C. 191, it was reduced to half an ounce.

Mars communis = the fortune and chances of war. Cp. '*aequo Marte*,' '*pari Marte*,' '*verso Marte*,' '*incerto Marte*,' '*Mars anceps*.'

§ 3. *praesentem*, 'immediate.' '*Praesens pecunia*' = cash payment. *legem agrariam*. First in *Livy* 2. 41.

§ 4. *quum*, 'since.' '*Ita prospere*' is obviously ironical.

§ 5. *actae*. The original meaning of the word, 'driven,' shows the kind of plunder usually taken, that is, cattle: just as the derivation of '*pecunia*' from '*pecus*' points to the fact that the earliest form of wealth consisted in cattle.

§ 6. *postquam* . . . *erat*, 'when they found assault useless.'

provincia. The word has been variously derived as a contraction from '*providentia*,' '*pro-noventia*' (cf. '*nuntius*' = the charge assigned to a delegate), and from '*pro-vincere*.' Strictly, a '*provincia*' was territory conquered outside Italy; otherwise it means 'official duty,' 'charge;' and in the general sense of 'business' ('*abi in tuam provinciam*') it is frequent in *Plautus*.

§ 7. *maiore mole*, 'more imposing proportions.' After '*quam*' there is an ellipse, 'than (those in which) the wars were being conducted.'

per, 'owing to.'

§ 8. *illud tempus*, 'the time,' i.e. that of which they had always spoken.

§ 9. *usurpandi iuris* = for the sake of making a precedent, exercising, claiming the right.

§ 11. *vetus senator*. It is worth notice that a plebeian could be

a senator: the social distinction between 'patres' and 'plebs,' chiefly maintained by the denial of the 'ius connubii' before the tribunate of Canuleius (4. 2, &c.) had been used to exclude them from the chief official posts. In point of birth, they are often spoken of as the equals of the patricians, and long descent was as highly valued among the one as the other. Tac. Ann. 6. 14 a grandniece of Tiberius, daughter of Germanicus, married L. Cassius, 'plebei generis, verum antiqui honoratque.'

§ 12. *nec satis constat* = and no good reason is given, it is not really clear.

potissimus = in preference to all others, above all others.

delibandum, cp. Tac. Ann. 6. 20 'degustabis imperium.'

fratris, probably 'cousin,' or, as perhaps in 28. 35, 'brother-in-law.' Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a patrician, could not be own brother to P. Licinius Calvus.

§ 13. *quod . . . remiserunt*, 'they ceased to oppose the war-tax, the chief question that obstructed (hampered) the government.'

Chap. 13, § 1. *annona*. By transference from the sense of 'yearly supply' (of corn), the word means 'the price of corn.'

ex = in consequence of: 'because supplies had been previously stored up.'

§ 2. *haud tumultuose*, i.e. without any disturbance, peacefully.

§ 3. *centuriæ*. Because elected at the Comitia Centuriata.

dixere, 'of the people electing officials,' e.g. 26. 22 'eosdem consules se dicturos esse. Claudium et Valerium consules dixerunt.'

§ 4. *intemperie caeli*. Cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 137:—

'Subito quum tabida membris,

Corrupto caeli tractu, miserandaque venit

Arboribusque satisque lues, et letifer annus.'

in contrarium = from cold to heat.

§ 5. *libri Sibyllini*. The legend of these books is told in various passages of Latin literature. This Sibyl was said to have brought her books to Tarquinius Superbus. The Sibyl of Cumæ (Aen. 6) is also well known. The name is said to be derived (Liddell and Scott) from *Αἰὼς βουλή*, Doric *Σιοβόλλα* = she that tells the will of Zeus.

§ 6. *sacris faciundis*: dative, the common construction after such words as 'commissioners,' for the purpose of. Cp. 'Coloniae deducendae ducemviri.'

lectisternio. The images of the gods were set on couches in the streets and food of all kinds set before them: 'lecti sternebantur in honorem deorum' (Augustine, de Civitate Dei). The couches were called 'pulvinaria.' It is explained at the end of the section, 'tribus stratis lectis.'

apparari, 'for magnificence and display.' Cp. 27. 6. 15 'ludos pro temporis huius copia magnifici apparatus fecerunt.'

§ 7. **ianuis**, i.e. 'of houses.'

ferunt, 'they (the chroniclers) tell.'

tempero. Takes dative = 'to govern,' 'restrain,' and simple abl. or abl. with 'a,' 'ab,' 'to refrain from.'

§ 8. **religioni fuisse**: lit. 'it was for a conscientious scruple,' 'there was a feeling that it would be wrong,' 'it was considered wrong.'

§ 10. **cessatum fuerat**, 'hesitation had been shown.'

§ 11. **avertit** (as constantly) = routed, defeated.

§ 12. The ordinary reading is **iam palantes veluti forte oblatis**, where 'iam palantes' goes with 'reliquias pugnae,' but 'veluti' is quite superfluous.

§ 13. **dum**, almost = for.

exclusere, i.e. 'the townsmen shut out their countrymen.'

Chap. 14, § 1. quippe, with 'cernentibus' = 'quippe qui cernerent.' It is like *ὅς, ἄτε*, with participle.

amissum: 13. 3, only one patrician was elected, and five plebeians.

§ 2. **petendum**: the general word for a 'candidatus.' Cp. Hor. Odes 3. 1 'descendat in Campum petitor.'

quos . . . crederent. Subjunctive after relative expressing character, 'men whom,' 'such as they thought the people would be ashamed to pass by.'

candidati, because they wore a white toga. 'Candor per cretam fullonum arte quaesitus.' Pers. 5. 177:—

'Quem ducit hiantem Cretata ambitio:'

and the jest hinted at by Cic. pro Planc. 34 'admonuisti, quod in Creta fuisses, dictum aliquod in petitione tua dici potuisse.'

exciebant, 'brought to their aid.'

in religionem, i.e. working on their religious feelings by (alluding to) the election held two years previously.

§ 3. **prodigium**, for 'prodicium,' 'pro-dicere' = something foretold.

sed iam = but now actual realities, real occurrences.

§ 4. **fatalibus**, 'the books of destiny,' 'fateful.' Cp. 'fatalia responsa deorum,' Virg. Aen. 9. 133.

auspicato. Similar adverbs, ablat. of participle, are 'subito,' 'necopinato,' 'ex improviso,' 'merito,' &c.

gentium. The 'gens' is the class united by a common name and common religious rites. The name of the 'gens' is the 'nomen' of each individual member; e.g. Fabius, Iulius, Cornelius. For the argument, compare the denunciations in 4. 2. of the consuls against the proposal to grant rights of 'connubium' between 'patres' and 'plebs.'

§ 5. *pars magna*, 'pars' being the regular Latin word for 'fraction,' a large fraction almost invariably means 'more than half.'

honoratissimum quemque, 'men of the highest eminence.'

§ 7. *incolumis*, connected with 'calamitas,' 'cado.'

Chap. 15, § 1. *singuli*, i.e. only individuals vouched for them.

hostibus Etruscis, ablat. absol., giving the reason.

procuro. A special term for expiating or averting by sacrifice, &c. any offence against the gods, or any ill omens. Cic. de Divinatione, and frequent in Livy.

haruspex, lit. entrail-inspecting. The Sanskrit is 'hirā,' Greek, *χολάδες*, *χορδή*. Cp. 'hariolus,' 'hariolor' (Curtius).

§ 2. *quae* . . . *eximeret*, 'which could take the occurrence out of the region of miracles,' 'disprove its miraculous character.'

§ 3. *sciscitatum*, supine. Cp. *praedatum*, 16. 3.

oratores, lit. 'speakers,' 'envoys.' Virg. Aen. 7. 153 :—

'Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis Ire iubet.'

In 1. 56 Tarquinius Superbus is said to have sent to Delphi ('maxime inclitum in terris oraculum') to inquire into the cause of a 'domesticum prodigium : 'ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhibebantur.' So, according to Livy, ambassadors had been sent to Athens and other parts of Greece to investigate the various systems of law (3. 31) before the passing of the XII Tables.

§ 4. *propior*, 'nearer home.'

fatis, 'by the fates,' 'by destiny.'

§ 5. *tamere iactum*, 'a meaningless utterance,' infra, 'per ambages iaceret.' The whole sentence is worth study, as a model of complex writing. Cp. 32. 8, 9; 40. 9, 10.

sermonibus, 'in conversation.'

ambages, 'ambi-ago,' cf. 'ambiguus.'

§ 6. *causatus*, 'alleging (giving as his reason) that he wished to ask his advice.'

si operae, 'if he had leisure.' Apparently used chiefly by Plautus and Livy.

§ 7. *raptum transtulit*. A very common Latin construction, in order to avoid the collocation of co-ordinate sentences joined by 'et.' One out of many instances may be quoted from Virg. Aen. 1. 29 'iactatos Troas Arcebat Latio.'

§ 9. *eam mentem*. We should say 'had put it into his mind;' lit. 'mens' here = idea.

excidium, 'to disclose the fate-ordained destruction of his country.'

§ 10. *revocare*. Oratio Obliqua, 'he could not recall them so that they should be unsaid, and perhaps equal sin was incurred by withholding what the gods willed should be known, as by uttering their secrets.'

Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 18. 71 'volat irrevocabile verbum,' and the Greek ἀρρητα φωνεῖν.

§ 12. *Exsequebatur*, 'he detailed.'

derivatio, 'de' and 'rivus,' drawing from its course or stream.

sortes. Virg. Aen. 6. 72 'tuas sortes arcanaque fata,' of the Sibyl.

Chap. 16, § 1. *Priusquam*. When this conjunction and '*antequam*' are used with subj. (except in *Oratio Obliqua*) the verb should, as a rule, be translated 'could.' Simple time is not expressed by the subjunctive, if we except 'quum' with plupf. subj. for 'after that,' and an occasional use of 'quum' with impf. subj. But Livy's use of '*priusquam*' with subj. is often not to be distinguished from its use with indicative.

§ 2. *multis bellis*. The ablatives all depend upon '*occupatos*.'

§ 3. *cohortes expeditas* = a flying column, i. e. without '*impedimenta*;' 'light-armed' hardly conveys the exact meaning.

eoque, and 'therefore too weak (to stop them)'—

§ 4. *indignitas*, 'indignation,' as it is joined with '*cura*,' each expressing a feeling in the Romans; cf. 45. 6 '*indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit*.' In 48. 9 '*rei foedissimae per se, adiecta indignitas est*' = insulting treatment.

populationis, obj. gen. = anxiety about.

§ 5. *non iusto* is explained by '*voluntariorum*.'

obliquis tramitibus: cp. 2. 39. 3 '*transversis tramitibus*.' Tarquinii was situated to the N.W. of Rome, about fifty miles distant, on the river Marta.

§ 6. *impedimentis*. As the troops consisted of '*expeditae cohortes*' § 3, the '*impedimenta*' ought to mean the plunder, &c. which they now had with them: or it might refer to their armour.

§ 7. *dominis*, 'the owners.' The term '*dominium*' in Roman law signifies the exact right of ownership which, in the case of '*res Mancipi*,' could be possessed by a Roman citizen, and in the strict legal sense by no one else. But by '*usucapio*' prescriptive rights could be acquired even by a stranger, and the praetor's equitable jurisdiction would prevent his being dispossessed of his property. Until the time of Justinian, undisputed possession for one year of moveables and for two years of immoveables gave an indefeasible title.

sub hasta, 'by public auction.' The spear was a sign of booty gained in battle or of the authority of the magistrates.

redactum. Hor. Epodes 2. 69 '*Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam*,' of the money lender getting in his loans.

§ 9. *cave . . . sinas* = beware to allow, i. e. do not allow.

dissipatam rivis. Cp. Hdt. 1. 189, where Cyrus has the river Gyndes diverted into 360 small channels, because one of the sacred horses had been lost in it.

§ 10. *victoriam ex*, 'remembering that victory is granted you, by

the destiny now revealed, over the city which,' &c. 'Victoria de' and 'ab' are also found: 4. 6. 5 'Quum Canuleius victoria de patribus ingens esset;' Cic. pro Leg. Man. 3 'ab illo insignia victoriae reportare.'

§ 11. *donum*: infra 25. 10, a golden drinking-bowl was sent, and, as told in chap. 28, the ship of war that conveyed it was captured by pirates from the Lipari islands, but subsequently released.

instaurata, 'renewed,' 'repeated.' The word is constantly used to describe the repetition of a solemn act which has been interrupted, or the due performance of a ceremony not rightly observed. In Aen. 4. 63 'instauratque diem donis,' Virgil, as usual, carries the meaning a little further, and indeed transfers its sense in his favourite manner; but the examples quoted from his poems all retain the notion of repetition.

Chap. 17, § 2. *ubi* = in what point, in what particular.

vitio creatos, 'because informally elected,' causal participle.

Latinas, i.e. the Latin festival.

sacrum in monte Albano, 1. 31 'feriae per novem dies.'

concepisse. There were three kinds of festivals among the Romans: 'stativae,' regularly recurring on fixed days; 'conceptivae,' moveable feasts, the date of which was fixed afresh each year; and 'imperativae,' extraordinary, ordered to celebrate some special event.

§ 3. *auspicia*. In time of war only the person who possessed the 'imperium' could take the auspices; in civil matters, this right belonged to all magistrates. In imperial times, all acts were considered as done under the 'auspicia' of the emperor. Tac. Ann. 2. 41 'recepta signa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii.'

interregnum. The first instance is after the death of Romulus, 1. 17, when the 'patres' divided the power among themselves, forming 'decuriae,' and each holding office for five days.

§ 6. *ad fanum Voltumnæ*. A similar meeting had been held just before the beginning of the war with Veii, 4. 61. Cp. 4. 23, 25. Voltumna was the tutelary goddess of the Etruscans.

§ 7. *quia*, &c.: 'because the Veientians ought not to ask for help from those from whom they had not asked advice with regard to so important a step.'

fortunam, 'their own position refused it to the Veientians' ('illis').

§ 8. *satis fida*, 'really secure.'

sit. As often, Livy makes the *Oratio Obliqua* less dull by his use of present instead of past tenses; 'eant,' 'impediant.'

§ 9. *id*, anticipating and explained by the succeeding clause. So *eum* in the next sentence is emphatic: 'the report at Rome was that the number of the enemy which came under these conditions was large.'

Chap. 18, § 1. *praerogativa*, sc. 'centuria.' In the voting at the *Comitia* the unit taken was the 'curia,' 'centuria,' or 'tribus.' If a

candidate obtained a bare majority in eighteen tribes—the full number being thirty-five—no account was taken of the numerical majority of individual votes which might be against him in the other seventeen. The word ‘*praerogativa*’ signifies the tribe or century which was first called upon to record its vote, and this was decided by lot. It was common for the other tribes to follow the choice of the ‘*praerogativa*.’ Compare the phrases, ‘*rogare legem*,’ ‘*rogare populum*.’

non petentem, ‘though not a candidate.’

moderationis. The genitive of quality is usually confined to persons, the ablative being used to express the quality of things.

§ 2. *collegio eiusdem anni*. It is implied that the arrangement entered into, supra 17. 5, had resulted in the election of these tribunes here first named in the place of those who had resigned ‘*vitio creati*.’

renuntio. The special word of announcing to the people the result of an election, either by the ‘*praeco*’ or by the presiding magistrate. Also used of the report made by the official who observed the omens. Cic. Div. 2. 35 ‘*nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat*.’ The opposite was ‘*obnuntio*,’ to announce some bad omens which would stop business.

§ 3. *rei*, ‘feeling,’ ‘condition.’

§ 4. *umbram nomenque*. Cp. Cic. Att. 5. 15 ‘*me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium*,’ and Plaut. Mil. 3. 1. 31:—

‘*Umbra es amantum magis quam amator*.’

§ 5. *antea*; supra 12. 9.

vicarium, from ‘*vicis*.’ ‘*Vicarius servus*’ was an under-slave kept by another slave.

do dicoque. A formula for solemn dedication.

quaeso with *mandetis*, omitting *ut*.

ultrō, i. e. *non petentem*, ‘unasked.’

§ 7. *praecipito*. Used as active and neuter verb. Virg. Aen. 4. 565:—

‘*Non fugis hinc praeceps dum praecipitare potestas?*’

Id. 2. 317, 18:—‘*Furor iraque mentem Praecipitant*.’

§ 9. *quae*, probably refers to ‘*ignominia*.’ ‘The actual loss was much less than the disgrace; but it almost resulted in a serious disaster; for very serious alarm was caused by it’ (‘*inde*’). The Latin language frequently uses the adjectives of proportion, ‘*tot*,’ ‘*tantus*,’ &c., where we should employ a strong form of superlative.

§ 11. *His tumultuosiora*, ‘a still more alarming report.’

partem, ‘half.’

agmine infesto, ‘to attack.’

matrona: as distinct from ‘*materfamilias*,’ the former means ‘a married woman’ in general; whereas the latter indicates one who is ‘*in manu*’ legally under the power of her husband, or of the person in whose ‘*potestas*’ the husband himself is.

publicus pavor, 'the general alarm,' 'the danger to the state.'
Veios, 'to Veii.'

Chap. 19, § 1. appetebant, 'were drawing nigh.'

§ 2. **fatalis**, 'chosen by destiny,' 'destined.' It is the equivalent of *εμπαύματος*, and in the ante-Augustan period is rarely used as synonymous for 'letalis,' deadly, fatal.

servandae: dative, expressing the purpose, for which 'ad ex-cidium' has just been used.

The appointment of a dictator at this crisis, or when any special work was to be done, shows an elasticity in the official arrangements at Rome. It was impossible that with annual magistrates, such as consuls or military tribunes, the best men should always be chosen. Theoretically, the various officials and magistrates could produce a deadlock in public business, if they were in conflict; but on the whole, the system was not without singular merits.

§ 4. **alia**, 'altered,' 'changed,' 'different.'

animadvertere. In the sense of 'punish,' with 'in aliquem.'

illo pavore; 18. 9 'aegre miles retentus a fuga' = the late.

more militari. The military punishment, e.g. for desertion, was the 'fustuarium,' a cudgelling to death, Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 14 'fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consulem reliquerunt.' Infra 47. 10, a soldier was thrown down from the Capitoline hill during the siege by the Gauls.
intercurrit, 'goes off in the interval to Veii.'

§ 6. The 'Mater Matuta' is a name for Ino Leucothea, the goddess who appeared to Odysseus (Od. v. 333) and saved him from drowning. Cic. Tusc. 1. 12. 28.

§ 7. **exspectione**, 'excitement.'

§ 8. **fortuna**. Cp. the proverbs 'fortuna fortes (adiuvat),' Cic. Fin. 3. 4. 16; Virg. Aen. 10. 284 'audentes fortuna iuvat.'

castris exiit. So *armis, copiis, agro, patrimonio, sedibus, bonis exuere* are used.

quaestores. The official quaestors took charge of the 'aerarium' or public treasury, of the revenues and expenditure, of the standards that were kept in the treasury; cp. 7. 23 'iussit signa ex aerario quaestores deferre.' Further, they conducted certain criminal trials, subsequently classified as 'quaestiones perpetuae.' The quaestors, who were attached to a consul or governor of a province in later times, acted as treasurers to the provincial troops, collected taxes, and arranged for the pay and commissariat of the troops.

§ 9. **procursaionibus**, 'skirmishes.'

iniussu. The substantive is only used thus, in the ablative, as an adverb.

§ 11. **munitorum numerum**, together,

in orbem = in rotation.

Chap. 20, § 1. *capi* = was on the point of being captured.

§ 2. *ne quam . . . caperet*, 'to escape.'

malignitate. Cp. 22. 1 = from niggardliness in apportioning the spoil.

§ 3. *iam* = *mox*.

quid censerent. The *Oratio Obliqua* of question in the 2nd person. 'What,' he asked, 'do you propose?'

§ 4. *interrogatum*. The consul (here the '*tribunus militum*') called upon those who were to speak first at a debate in the senate, usually upon the senator of highest rank or importance. The '*princeps senatus*' was the first senator on the censor's list, Livy 34. 44.

edicti palam placere, 'that he proposed that a public proclamation be made.'

§ 5. *novam*, &c.; 'unconstitutional, extravagant, unfair, and ill-advised.'

auctor erat = *censebat*, 'proposed.'

numerandi: supra 7. 12 '*numerus aeris*.'

§ 6. *non avidas*, &c.; 'and that the hands of idle townfolk, greedy for plunder, would not steal the rewards of brave soldiers.'

ut quisque, &c. Expressing proportion, 'the readier a man is to take his share of danger and peril, the more indifferent he is to plunder.'

§ 7. *criminum*, &c., of prosecutions, agitation, and revolutionary proposals.

§ 8. *succurri*; impersonal, 'that help be given.'

id . . . quod, 'anything which.'

§ 9. *fugere*, 'wished to avoid'; supra § 2.

§ 10. *popularis*, in the same sense 7. 33 '*quo nihil popularius est*.'

quibus videretur, like *δοκεῖν*, 'whoever might think fit.'

Chap. 21, § 2. *numen*. Here 'the expression of the divine will,' 'direction,' 'bidding.'

hinc, 'therefore,' 'on this account.' This is better than to take it = *Veiorum*, a tenth of the plunder out of this city.

§ 3. *oolis*. Also used of the correlative, the respect or worship paid by men to gods; e.g. 22. 3. *Iuno*, according to all the legends, was the ancestral enemy of Troy, and of the early Romans as descendants of the Trojans. See the *Aeneid*, *passim*.

amplitudo, 'majesty.'

§ 4. *superante multitudine*, 'with overwhelming numbers.'

§ 5. *iam in partem*. 'That some of the gods had been invited to share the spoil, others summoned by prayers from their city were looking to a new home in the temples of the enemy.'

ultimum. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 248 '*quibus ultimus esset Ille dies*.'

§ 6. *pro se quisque*, 'one and all.'

§ 7. *quidnam* id . . . , 'what was the reason why?'

§ 8. *immolo*, from 'mola,' originally to sprinkle (a victim) with the salt cake, 'mola salsa.'

vocem . . . *exauditam* . . . *movisse*, go together.

proseco, 'to cut off' (the parts to be sacrificed).

dari, graphic present, like 'capi,' supra 20. 1.

§ 9. *satis habeam*, 'I shall be satisfied.' The pres. subj. comes very near in sense to the future indic. in this use. The criticisms here passed by Livy may be compared with what he says in his preface to the history.

haec ad, &c. Cp. Preface 6 'poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis.' 'This which is better fitted to figure on a stage that loves the marvellous than to gain credence.'

neque affirmare, &c. Preface 7.

§ 10. *edidit*. Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 259 :—

'Illos patefactus ad auras

Reddit equus.'

aversos, i.e. in the rear, because they were on the walls, not attending to what was happening behind them.

servitilis. The abstract word both in singular and plural is used for the concrete 'slaves.'

§ 11. 'Shouts rend the air, the cries of attack and the shrieks of dismay, blended with the wailing of women and children;' cp. 21. 25. 13 'Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis.'

§ 12. *momento*. Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 7:—

'horae

Momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'

§ 13. *senescit pugna*, 'the fighting flags.'

§ 14. *aliquantum maior*, 'considerably larger than he expected or thought.' So 'aliquoties' usually implies some large number, not so indefinite as our 'some.'

rerum, 'consisting of objects of greater value.'

§ 15. *ut*, repeated *ut* . . . *liceret*.

eam invidiam, we might say 'to remove the danger.' Compare the story of Polycrates of Samos, and Hdt. 7. 46 ὁ θεὸς φθονερός εὐπλοκεῖται ἑών, and 1. 32 τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες.

§ 16. *pertinuisse* . . . *ad*, 'appeared, to those who afterwards drew inferences from what occurred, to have signified.'

§ 17. *sub corona* = as slaves, because they were crowned with chaplets. Cp. Juv. 1. 111 'pedibus qui venerat albis;' i.e. with chalked feet, to stand on the 'catasta' when exposed for sale into slavery.

Chap. 22, § 1. *duci* . . . *senatui* . . . *Liciniae familiae*. The datives depend on 'acceptum referebant' = they ascribed. Lit. 'put it down (in an account) as received to the credit of.'

maligntatis, &c., as he wanted some authority for his niggardly act, 'making them the agents of his meanness.'

rem arbitrii sui, 'a matter under his own control.'

§ 4. *lautis*, from *lavo*, = *lavatis*.

candida veste, common to festivals and religious ceremonies in all ages. We may contrast the common practice at Rome of the wearing of '*sordida vestis*' by a '*reus*,' so frequent in Cicero's speeches. Cp. Livy 3. 47 '*Verginius sordidatus filiam secum obsoleta veste . . . deducit*.'

deportanda, 'the duty of conveying.'

admoventes manus, 'laying hands upon.'

§ 5. *quod . . . solitus*. The sentence is elliptical = no one except.

If *nisi non* be translated 'only,' the brevity can be preserved: 'because according to Etruscan rites only a priest of a special family was accustomed to touch this statue.'

§ 6. *dicentis velle*, 'saying that she was willing.'

parvi molimenti, 'with machines of slight power.'

accepimus, 'we have heard,' 'the story runs.' Livy does not repeat these legends as a rule without some criticism. The means of investigating the early annals of Roman history were scarcely within his reach; and he prefers to give the legendary tales with such facts as were authentic, writing rather in poetical than strictly historical manner. Still, the charge of carelessness and absence of critical faculty is levelled with better grounds against some parts of his subsequent work (e.g. Book 21 and the route of Hannibal) than against his account of this early period.

tralatu, supine of *transfero*. The substantive is post-Augustan.

§ 7. *vota*, 21. 3.

§ 8. *occasus*, 'downfall.'

vel ultima, 'even in its final ruin.'

continuas, 'in succession,' 'consecutively.'

aliquanto plus, 'considerably more,' 21. 14.

urgente, 'when destiny doomed it.' Cp. 36. 6 '*argentibus Romanam urbem fatis*.'

operibus non vi. 'Approach and assault' are terms used by Clarendon in his History; 'by skill and not by storm.' 'Opera' refers to the '*cuniculus*.'

Chap. 23, § 1. *notae*, 'known,' as though the knowledge that its fall was prophesied had not removed all doubt even from believing minds.

res, 'the issue.' The sentence '*quantum . . . potuerat res*' is explained by what follows, the selection of Camillus as general.

§ 2. *velut ex insperato*, 'as though it were unhopd for.'

§ 3. *matrum*. Cp. 18. 11.

in *quatriduum*, 'for four days.'
quot dierum. The genitive is, as it were, in apposition to an antecedent in '*iv dierum spatium*.'

supplicationes. Generally of thanksgiving for victory; but cf. 10. 23. 1. '*prodigia, quorum averruncandorum causa supplicationes in biduum senatus decrevit*:' and sometimes in honour of a successful general: and on this analogy Cic. Sull. 30. 85 '*Cui uni togato supplicationem senatus decrevit*.'

§ 4. *celebratio*. Lit. 'attended by greater crowds,' 'more highly distinguished.'

diei illius, 'the day of rejoicing.'

§ 5. *Maxime conspicuus*, 'the principal object,' 'all eyes turned to.'

ipse. Cp. Juv. 1. 61, 62 '*nam lora tenebat Ipse*.'

invectus, 'riding.'

parum civile, 'scarcely like a citizen,' i.e. 'not only too great for a citizen.'

§ 6. *in religionem*, 'men thought it sacrilege that the dictator was put on a level with . . . ' '*Equis*' is dative, but strictly Camillus was put on a level with Jupiter and Sol by having white horses.

clarior quam gratior, 'more distinguished than pleasing,' 'rather grand than satisfactory.'

§ 7. *templum locavit*; sc. '*exstruendum*,' 'he contracted for.'

Matutæ Matris. Supply '*templum*.'

§ 8. *Apollinis*. Objective gen. Cp. '*donum exitiale Minervæ*' Virg. Aen. 2. 31.

pontifices, 'and the priests decreed that the people must fulfil the obligation:' lit. 'be freed from the religious duty' by fulfilling it. Cp. the next section, 'whoever wished himself and his house to fulfil their duty.'

§ 9. *ratio iubendi*, 'a means of calling upon.'

§ 10. *eo . . . decursum est*, 'they came down to that which.'

in publicum, i.e. '*aerarium*.'

§ 11. *dignum*, 'worthy of the grandeur of the temple and the greatness of the god, and befitting the honour of the Roman nation.'

Chap. 24, § 2. *felix*, 'fruit-bearing.' Cp. '*rami feliciores*' Hor.; '*silvæ felices*' Virg.; '*arbusta*' Lucr.

§ 4. *seditio*, 'agitation.'

quo; lit. 'whither;' = for which 3000 citizens were to be registered.

septunces. Fractions are often thus expressed by making use of the divisions of the '*As*,' the one standard in weights and measures (just as the unit and its parts are now used). Cp. the phrase '*heres ex besse, ex dodrante*' = heir to two-thirds, heir to three-fourths.

§ 5. *spei*. The genitive explains 'solatium,' 'an offer to get rid of higher aims.'

relegari. 'Relegatio' is the term for one form of banishment, in which a person was sent only to a certain distance from Rome, and did not suffer any real 'capitis deminutio,' as in 'deportatio' and 'exsilium.'

§ 6. *vel* = both.

§ 7. *actio*; 29. 1, and *supra*.

utique, 'decidedly,' 'assuredly.'

celebratio, 'more constantly proposed,' 50. 8, and the speech of Camillus that follows.

§ 9. *optimates*. 'When the aristocracy opposed this strongly, declaring that they would rather die than allow any such motion to be carried.'

quum. The change into *Oratio Obliqua* breaks the consecutive-ness, and the conjunction used in this protasis is taken up again in 25. 1. For the language, cp. 4. 28 'se milliens morituros potius quam ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur.'

optimates. Synonyms are 'proceres,' 'primores,' in this general sense. Cic. Pro Sest. 96 defines the word in the sense which he applied to it, 'qui ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur . . . sunt principes publici consilii, sunt qui eorum sectam sequuntur.'

quam . . . rogetur. Elliptical for 'quam ut paterentur rogari.'

§ 10. *viotamne ut* ('potuitne fieri ut'), 'could it possibly be that.'

§ 11. *lator*, both of the proposer and the person who carried a law. Cp. 25. 13 'tribunos latores legis.'

parente. As in Preface 7 'quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferant.' Cp. Juv. 8. 244:—

'Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.'

Chap. 25, § 2. *manibus temperare*, 'to refrain from violence.'

rixae committendae. On the analogy of *proelium committere*, *conserere*, 'in order to begin the rioting.'

primi, adverbially.

§ 3. *violandis*, 'from outraging men of their years and position and (official) distinction.'

et ad, 'also,' 'further, in respect of all similar.'

§ 4. *identidem*. Curtius derives from 'idem, ti (ἐτι) dem' (dies). *damnata voti*, 'condemned to its vow,' 'bound to fulfil its vow.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 237 'voti reus,' and 'damnare capitis, mortis,' &c.

§ 5. *stipis*; connected with 'stipo,' i.e. 'a gift collected in small coin' = an alms.

ea, 'in respect of it' ('collatio').

§ 6. *conscientiam*. Usually with 'sceleris,' 'culpa,' &c. = consciousness of guilt, and almost equivalent to 'conscience.'

rerum moventium. In legal phrase 'res mobiles.'

§ 7. *ea disceptatio*, 'the discussion about it.'

quod eius, &c.; 'whatever had belonged to the Veientians before he had framed his vow.'

partem decimam . . . eius . . . quod, 'together.'

§ 8. *prompta*, 'was provided,' 'brought out.'

cuius, i.e. 'of gold.'

decreto = resolution.

§ 9. *ut quae maxime*, 'more than any other.' Elliptical proportion for 'tam grata quam,' 'as pleasing as the one which was most.'

pilentum. Also used for carrying sacred vessels, images, &c.;

Virg. Aen. 8. 666:—

'ducebant sacra per urbem

Pilentis matres in mollibus.

profestus (cf. 'pro-fanus'), 'not sacred,' 'working-day.'

§ 10. *pecuniae*, 'that the price might be paid.'

§ 11. *Simul*, for 'simul ac,' § 13 infra.

animos remisérunt, 'they ceased to think.'

§ 12. *ultro offerrent*, 'openly faced.'

§ 13. *eisdem reficiunt*. Cp. 6. 42 'Refecti decimum iidem tribuni.'

Chap. 26, § 1. *summa ope*, 'by exerting all their strength.'

largitioni. Generally used of undue or illegal grants. Cic. Off. 2. 52 'largitio fontem ipsum benignitatis exaurit;' 55 'largitionem fundum non habere.' Still he allows that this species of liberality may be practised, provided it be done 'diligenter atque moderate.' 'The extravagant offers of the tribunes.'

§ 3. *donec . . . proficisceretur*. The subj. impf. shows that their object in keeping quiet was to wait till Camillus was gone: the connection is not merely temporal, but the one clause depends on the other.

§ 4. *progredi*. 'Prohibere' is used indifferently with 'ut,' 'ne,' 'quominus,' and object clause.

§ 5. *nulla re alia*, &c., 'believing it a safe position simply because of the difficulty of the approach.'

§ 6. *indidem* ('inde- idem'), 'from the same place.'

multa nocte = at dead of night. Cp. Tac. Hist. 4. 35 'velut multa pace.'

§ 7. *alius* = ὁ ἄλλος, 'the rest of.'

praelati, 'carried past,' like 'praeterire.'

§ 8. *priusquam . . . inciderent*, 'before they could rush in.' For subj., cp. supra § 3.

quaestores, who had charge of the treasury, *supra* 19. 8.
et oderant et mirabantur, 'they admired while they detested.'
 Somewhat similar is the phrase often quoted by Cicero, '*Oderint dum metuant*.'

§ 9. *per occasionem*, 'when an opportunity arose.'
neutro, 'to neither side.' On the analogy of '*eo*,' '*quo*.'
spe, 'success.'

ante; adverbially, 'from what had been previously stored up.'

§ 10. *specimen*, 'a proof.' Cp. 38. 58 '*Romanae fidei specimen gentibus dare*.'

Chap. 27. § 1. *magistro et comite*. The *μαθηγὰγός* in Greek; as in the *Lysis* of Plato, and frequently in the comedies of Plautus; e.g. *Ludus* in the *Bacchides*, Act 3. sc. 3.

demandabantur, 'were entrusted.' '*Commendo*' is used in this sense by writers before Livy.

§ 2. *ante urbem*. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 162:—

'*Ante urbem pueri et primaevae flore iuventus*

Exercitur equis, domitantque in pulvere currus.'

nihil; adverbially, 'in no way.'

trahendo. The gerund is thus frequently used in the place of a pres. partic. It is not correct to say that the pres. part. act. is never used verbally as in Greek; but it does commonly retain a strict sense of present or simultaneous time, and therefore the gerund is often preferable.

ubi res, 'when opportunity allowed.'

praetorium, 'the general's quarters.' Cp. 7. 12 '*in principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi*.'

§ 3. *scoelesto*, 'villainous.'

Falerii, the chief city of the Falisci.

§ 6. *pacto humano*, i.e. we have no definite treaty engagements with the Falisci: 'by actual treaty.'

iuste, 'in a proper manner.'

§ 8. *viciisti*, 'you have done your best to defeat them by an unheard-of crime.' Cp. § 10 '*de re nova*.'

§ 10. *efferati*, 'in the fury of.'

Veientium exitum, 'an end like that of Veii than a peace like that of Capena.'

apud eos universa civitas = 'ii omnes,' one and all unanimously.

§ 11. *foro, curia*. On the analogy of Rome, where the meetings of the people were in the former, of the senate in the latter place.

§ 12. *cui invidet*, 'which neither God nor man could envy.'

quo nihil; parenthetical, 'and this is the highest compliment to a conqueror.'

victuros, from '*vivo*.'

§ 13. *praesentem*, 'immediate,' 'that was in your hands.'
fide provocati, 'challenged by your fair dealing.'

§ 15. *fidei nostrae*, 'you shall never complain of our loyalty.'
stipendium. The same stipulation is imposed on the people of Vulsinii, *infra* 32. 5, as the condition of a twenty years' truce.

Chap. 28, § 1. *taoti eius*. There is a certain awkwardness in the genitive referring thus to Camillus, the subject of the sentence. For a somewhat similar change, cp. *infra*, § 8 'Postumius, quum . . . increparet, conclamat exercitus.' 'The senate could not brook his silent reproaches, but set immediately about the performance of his vow.' (Lit. 'The senate did not endure the sense of respect to him silent, but that they should be freed,' &c.)

§ 2. *longa una nave*, 'one ship of war.'

piratis. The Lipari group of islands (*Aen.* 8. 417) lie to the north of Sicily and west of the extreme southern corner of Italy.

§ 3. *publico latrocinio*. For the old notion that piracy was no less honourable than other forms of taking what belongs to another, see *Thuc.* 1. 5 *οὐκ ἔχοντες πω αἰσχύνειν τοῦτον τοῦ ἔργου*, and the address of Nestor to Telemachus, *Od.* 3. 72-3, where it is put on a level with any ordinary business (*πρῆξις*).

Timasitheus, τιμή, θεός. The name suggests the legend.

§ 4. *veritus*, 'respecting.'

multitudo, 'the people generally.'

iustae, 'with a due sense of.'

asopites. Said to be connected with *σῶς*, 'safe.'

§ 5. *in incerto . . . vicissent*. 'In incerto esse' is usually found without 'utrum,' as 'necesse esse' usually takes the subjunctive without 'ut.'

§ 6. *placuit obtinere*, 'they arranged for Aemilius to occupy Verugo with a garrison.'

§ 7. *ibi* = in fines.

negligentius. For opposite conduct in war, cp. *Sall. Jug.* 100 of Marius 'neque victoria socors aut insolens factus . . . consul quasi nullo imposito omnia providere.'

ab re = ob rem.

§ 8. *fateri admissum*, 'confess the crime they had committed,' 'the disgrace they had incurred.'

eisdem, 'with their own hands.'

§ 9. *nihil recusabant*, 'they offered to submit to any penalty.'

§ 10. *corpora curare*, 'to rest,' 'recruit themselves.' 'Cutem curare' is used contemptuously of effeminacy, *Hor. Ep.* 1. 2. 29:—

'In cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus.'

collaudatos iubet, 'he praised them and ordered.'

fugam, after 'excluderent;' 'to cut off any escape by night.'

§ 11. *tantum pavoris*. As at the battle of Alia, infra 38. 6 'integri intactique fugerunt,' and supra 18. 10. *retinente*, 'trying to restrain.'

§ 12. *sequentibus*, 'the fear of an ambuscade, if they attacked in disorder.' 'Sequentibus' is dative if after 'metum;' the fear (that would be) to them: 'tollo' is not used, like 'eripio,' 'adimo,' with dative.

§ 13. *litterae laureatae*, 'a despatch with tidings of success.'

Chap. 29, § 1. *actiones*, 24. 7.

continuare. Tacitus uses 'adnitor' with infinitive. Hist. 4. 8 'adnitentibus retinere morem.'

suis. The distinction of tribes was not based on a property qualification as was the division into 'centuriae:' therefore the popular vote was more likely to succeed in expressing itself at the 'comitia tributa' and the elections connected with it, than at other elections where numbers were practically useless.

§ 2. *quem dolorem*. The language is very similar to that used in 4. 54. 1, 2, when consuls were elected. 'Non alias aegrius plebs tulit tribunicia comitia (i.e. tribunos militum consulari potestate) sibi non commissa. Eum dolorem quaestoriis comitiis simul ostendit et ulta est.'

quintum decimum, i.e. in 409 B.C., the present year being 393 B.C.

§ 3. *legem*, 'de migrando Veios.'

§ 4. *per aversa urbis*, 'in the opposite quarter of the city.'

§ 6. *tribunis plebis*; as explained a few lines below, 'because of their conduct in vetoing the proposal of their colleagues.' Compare the action of Tib. Gracchus in obtaining the deposition of his colleague Octavius, who opposed his measures.

quos. The patricians were unanimous that the defence of these tribunes was a matter for the senate's honour.

§ 7. *pessimo exemplo* = a very bad precedent; 2. 1. 3 'pessimo publico.'

§ 8. *pravo iudicio*, 'by their iniquitous sentence on the tribunes.'

evertisse, because, as being peculiarly the champions of the plebs, it was the chief duty of the tribunes to veto any act or measure of any official which they thought injurious to the plebs. No doubt the exercise of the veto against each other was overlooked at the time when it was obtained: the wonder is that such an unlimited power should ever have been conceded by one party to another.

§ 9. *quod illi*, ('as for that which') 'as for their hope . . . they were mistaken.'

§ 10. *fide publica*, 'by official promises (of support).' 'Fide publica' is used of the safe-conduct granted, e.g. to Jugurtha when he came to Rome to take his trial.

Chap. 30, § 1. *ne aliter*, 'urging them not to go down to vote except in the spirit of men who,' &c.

§ 2. *inter dimicationem*, 'in his country's hour of danger.'

amplum, 'even an honour,' 'a compliment.'

insistere, literally, wherever they went in Veii they would find traces of his conquest.

§ 3. *nefas*, a violation of divine law, as distinct from human.

mutari, as in Horace, Odes 3. 1. 47:—

'Cur valle permutem Sabina

Divitias operosiores?'

= take in exchange.

§ 4. *principis*. In the general sense, 'the leading man;' 23. 1 'maximum imperatorem omnium,' and 32. 7 'humanam opem quae una erat, M. Furium.'

ferretur, 'was proposed.'

§ 6. *extorrem*, ex, terra.

penates. All that is known of the word is that in the phrase 'di penates' it is used for the gods of the household, and belonged to very early Latin history. Curtius connects it with 'pascor,' 'penus,' 'penetro.'

eoque, 'and bring things to this position, that it would be better.' 'Fuerit' is peculiar, where 'esset' or 'fuisset' might be expected.

§ 7. *preces*, 'petitions.'

religiosum, 'a majority felt scrupulous.'

una plures = by a majority of one; lit. more tribes by one rejected than voted for the bill. There were twenty-one tribes at this date; cp. 6. 5. 8 'quattuor additae viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere.'

§ 8. *patribus familiae*: the word does not include all married men with families. The head of the family in the view of Roman law was the highest male ascendant living from whom the rest of the family could trace their descent by blood. If a woman married, she passed into the 'potestas' of her husband, and consequently into a different 'familia.' Hence the term 'agnati' applied to those who trace their lineal descent through males only.

capitum, = 'persons,' would include males and females.

ratio haberetur, 'regard should be had for.'

tollere, literally, of raising the child from the ground after its birth. This was an act of recognition on the part of the father; and unless it were performed, in early times the child would be considered fatherless, and probably left to die. Plaut. Am. 1. 3. 3 'quod erit natum, tollito.' Cp. 'suscipio' = to bring up, acknowledge.

Chap. 31, § 2. *Capitolino*; infra 47, because he saved the Capitol from the Gauls.

ludos magnos, 19. 6.

§ 4. *perseverans caedendi*. The genitive after participles is more common in Tacitus, as '*modestiae retinens*;' Sall. '*alieni appetens*.' The MS. reading here is '*caedendis*;' but, as Madvig points out, it is impossible that it should stand alone with no preposition or with no substantive, e.g. '*hostibus*.'

§ 5. *quo*, 'whither;' i.e. against the Vulsinienses, with '*duci*.'

ultro = took the offensive and harried.

§ 6. *suffectus*. The first case of such substitution occurs *supra* 2.

8. 4 '*suffectus in Lucretii locum* M. Horatius.'

quae res, 'and afterwards this was scrupulously forbidden,' 'carefully avoided.' Cp. 40. 8 '*ubi desui religio est*.' '*Res*,' i.e. '*suffectio in locum mortui censoris*.'

lustrum. Once in each five years an expiatory ('*luo*') offering was made after the census had been taken, and the sacrifice '*suovetaurilia*' performed.

§ 9. *copia*. The emphasis is not on the number (six), because that for some years had been the regular number of '*tribuni militum consulari potestate*;' but on the fact that these '*magistratus*,' not consuls, were appointed by the interrex. It is impossible not to notice, throughout these constitutional difficulties, that the senate is really the permanent element in the government of Rome. Their *consultum* obtains the resignation of magistrates, cf. *supra* 9. 1, when a vote is taken on this same question; and a nominee of theirs among the officials, or one who supported their authority, could enforce it by appointing a dictator, from whom there was no appeal. The senate's real term of power began with the Second Punic War, and lasted till the time of the Gracchi; but there can be no doubt that an assembly composed of officials and ex-officials had a considerable advantage over annual magistrates, especially when the latter usually belonged to the same '*ordo*,' the patriciate, as the majority of the senate.

Chap. 32, § 1. *Quintilis*, the fifth month, beginning the year with March, i.e. July. In honour of C. Julius Caesar this was afterwards called *Iulius mensis*, as *Sextilis* was changed to *Augustus*. In fact the names from *Quintilis* to *December* speak for themselves.

§ 2. *evenit*, 'sorte.' Cicero in his consulship contrived to obtain the appointment of his colleague Antonius to the province of Macedonia, in order to secure his support against Catiline.

§ 3. *interclusa*, 'intercepted.'

§ 4. *effecit ne*, 'stopped the Salpinates from risking an engagement.' *moenibus*, with '*tutabantur*;' '*armati*' = ready to fight.

§ 5. *res redderent*, 'make restitution.' Cp. '*res repetere*,' and the '*rerum repetundarum quaestio*' of the *Lex Calpurnia*, B.C. 149, against extortion in the provinces.

stipendium exercitui. Supra 27. 15.

indutiae, derived from 'indu' (= in, cf. 'induperator') and 'ire,' a going into rest.

§ 6. **voeem**, infra 50. 6 a temple built Aio Locutio to commemorate this utterance.

§ 7. **et quod**, 'and also because the people lived far away and were therefore hardly known.'

ingruente. A favourite word in Tacitus, and used also with 'bellum,' 'armorum horror,' 'imber,' by Virgil: also of persons, Tac. Hist. 3. 34 'ingruente in Italiam Hannibale;' Virg. Aen. 12. 628 'ingruit Aeneas Italis.' Here = though doom was impending, was gathering round.

quae una erat = their only help: 'they thrust out from the city the one and only man who could help them, M. Furius Camillus.'

§ 8. **Qui**, &c. The sentence is valuable as a good specimen of complex construction, which in English would stand as several co-ordinate clauses. 'He was summoned to trial by L. Appuleius to answer for the plunder from Veii. About that time he had lost his grown-up son. On calling a meeting at his house of his tribesmen and dependents, chiefly plebeians, and asking their opinions, he received the answer, that they would contribute any fine which he might be condemned to pay, but could not acquit him. So he went into exile.'

praedam Veientanam. Evidently, so far as Livy tells us, a consequence of the unpopularity of Camillus in regard to the 'donum Apollinis.' Whether there were any grounds for a legitimate condemnation is not recorded.

orbatus. Cp. ὀρφανός, 'orphan.'

magna pars, this must = of whom more than half were plebeians; 'quae' = 'quorum.' The dependents of Camillus alone could not be 'more than half the plebs;' 'plebis' = 'de plebe.'

quanti, of price, amount. Cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 156:—

'Quanti emptae? Parvo. Quanti ergo? Octussibus.'

§ 9. **si innoxio**, 'if he were undeserving of the wrong done to him.'

primo quoque, 'at each first,' i.e. 'at the earliest moment,' 'as soon as possible.' 'Quisque' is used by the best writers, especially in prose, only with 'suus,' 'ut,' a superlative, or some relative pronoun ('quod,' 'quando'). Lucretius and earlier writers use it absolutely = every one.

desiderium sui, 'might cause his thankless country to mourn his absence,' cf. πόθος.

Chap. 33, § 1. si quioquam. The double genitive is idiomatic, almost as it were by combining two phrases 'aliquid certi,' and 'humanorum aliquid'—'if anything human is certain.' At the outset of this history of disaster from § 6 of the previous chapter, the writer's language

becomes more impressive and solemn. This is Livy's most admirable talent, and one in the exercise of which he seldom fails to rivet attention. *fatali*, 'doomed.'

Clusini. Clusium is near the Lacus Trasimenus, on a river named the Clanis, in Etruria. It was one of the great cities of the Etruscans, Falerii, Veii, Capena, Tarquinii, Volsci, Caere, Volsinii, Faesulae, and Cortona being the other principal cities of the 'duodecim populi.'

§ 2. *nova . . . voluptate*. We might expect the genitive, as the wine caused or constituted the 'voluptas;' or else 'vino.'

captam, 'enticed,' 'allured.' Used with all kinds of ablatives—'capta cupidine,' 'auribus,' 'oculis,' 'mente captus.'

agrosque. Gallia Cisalpina, or Citerior, was the name of the north of Italy till the time of the emperors. It was divided into Transpadana and Cispadana.

§ 3. *Lucumo*. The name is said to have originally meant 'an inspired person, a person possessed.' Servius, the commentator on Virgil, says that each of the twelve Etruscan nations had a Lucumo, a priest-prince: and probably, both here and in 1. 34, Livy has taken it by mistake for a proper name, it being really a designation of rank and title.

tutor, 'guardian.'

iuvēni = prince; 34. 3 'impigros iuvenes.'

§ 4. *abnuērim*. The perf. subj. tones down the direct negative: = I will not deny, I should not care to deny.

§ 5. *ducentis . . . annis ante*, i. e. about 600 B.C., according to Livy's chronology in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, 34. 1.

oppugnarent. Cp. supra, note on 16. 1. There is no reason why the indicative should not have been used here.

§ 6. *his Etruscorum*, together, 'this nation of the Etruscans.'

§ 7. *Tusoorum*. Modern researches have proved the truth of this statement. That the legend was old can be seen from 1. 2 'florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum,' to whom Turnus and the Rutulians were said to have applied for help against Aeneas.

mare superum, 'the Adriatic.'

Inferum, 'the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian Sea.'

quantum potuerint, after *argumento*, 'the names are a proof of their power.'

§ 9. *duodenis*. The distributive is explained by the next clause: twelve cities north and twelve south of the Apennines.

colonis missis, 'planting as many colonies as there were original cities.'

§ 11. *effecerunt*, 'have made uncivilised.'

ne quid = ut nihil, 'so that they retain nothing,' or 'so as to preserve nothing.'

Chap. 34, § 1. Celtæ, 'pars tertia Galliae.' Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 1. 1 'Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes, quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur.'

summa, a substantive = *summa res*. Cp. 37. 3 'summa rerum,' 'summa belli.'

§ 2. **Ambigatus,** the name of the Celtic prince.

quod, &c. explains 'publica fortuna;,' 'the prosperity of the nation.'

abundans multitudo, 'the enormous numbers,' 'the large population.'

§ 3. **ostendit.** Declares his intention to send them to such home as the gods should grant them by augury.

§ 4. **arceere advenientes,** 'prevent their settlement.'

sorbitus, explains 'auguriis' in § 3, 'by oracular response.'

haud paulo, like the Greek *οὐχ ἥμισητα*, a form of 'meiosis' or 'litotes,' the opposite to exaggeration = far more fortunate.

§ 6. **nulladum,** on the analogy of 'nondum.' In this combination the particle = as yet, and is not to be confounded with the enclitic suffix added to imperatives and interjections, e.g. 'agedum,' 'abidum,' 'tangedum,' &c., of which numerous instances occur in Plautus and Terence.

quod quidem, 'as far as uninterrupted memory extends.'

de Hercule fabulis. See 1. 7. 4; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 201, &c.

§ 7. **religio:** here = a superstitious feeling.

§ 8. **Massilia,** now Marseilles. For the account of their journey from Phocæa, see Hdt. 1. 163 seq. The enterprise of the commercial cities of Asia Minor, consisting of colonies from various parts of Greece, is well known.

communirent. So that (ultimately) the Massilians established a settlement on the spot where they had first landed, without hindrance from the Saltes.

§ 9. **agrum . . . cognominem.** 'Cognominis' is an adjective, as in Plaut. *Bacch.* 1. 1 'duæ germanæ cognomines;,' Virg. *Aen.* 6. 383 'gaudet cognomine terra.'

pago, in apposition with 'Insulribus.' Weiss. reads 'cognomine Insulribus pago Aeduorum' = a canton of the 'Aedui' bearing the same name as the 'Insulres.' *Pagus* = a canton or district, as we say, 'a division.'

Chap. 35, § 1. saltu, pass. The inversion of the sentence may be noticed, 'quum transcendisset' properly coming before 'eodem saltu,' and 'locos tenere' before 'ubi nunc.'

§ 2. **propter,** 'near to.'

§ 3. **gentem,** 'tribe.' The Senones were an important tribe in the

time of Julius Caesar, with many others acknowledging their headship. Their chief city was Agendicum, which is said to have been afterwards called Senones, the same name being perhaps preserved in the modern Sens.

id = one point, the following point.

solamne . . . adiutam: the accus. by attraction into the case of 'hanc gentem venisse'; the ordinary construction would be 'parum certum est utrum sola venerit.'

§ 4. **invisitatas**. This compound word seems to have been used to avoid the ambiguity which would have arisen if the simple 'invisus,' which also = hated, had been employed for 'unseen:' = strange, uncommon.

adversus Romanos, 'in regard to,' 'with.' Cp. 36. 3, note.

nisi quod, 'except the fact that,' 'unless because.'

§ 5. **agerent eum Gallis ne**, 'remonstrate with the Gauls against their attack on.'

§ 6. The whole of this section, in *Oratio Obliqua*, forms part of the instructions given to these envoys.

bellum ipsum, 'the war as it was,' 'the existing war.'

Chap. 36, § 1. mitis . . . ni, for **mitis fuisset ni**. The shortest rendering of this elliptical form is 'the mission was peaceful (simple), but the envoys were fiery men, more like Gauls than Romans.' The present subjunctive used throughout the following short piece of *Oratio Obliqua* is to be noted.

§ 2. **quorum . . . sit imploratum**, probably would be subj. in *Oratio Recta*, 'since the Clusians had called on them for assistance in their time of need'—the relative introducing a reason.

§ 3. **adversus se**, if with 'legatione' = by embassy to them (the Gauls); if with 'tueri socios' = against them (the Gauls).

Clusini. The subject, by a common idiom of construction, is really out of place, being put in the relative when it belongs first to the principal clause. 'If the Clusians would resign a portion of their territory to the Gauls who were in want of land, of which the Clusians hold more than they cultivate.'

quem latius = cuius plus.

§ 5. This sentence is worth studying as an instance of clever construction, peculiarly Latin. '**Romanis quaerentibus**' depends on '**quum illi dicerent**,' and the two clauses '**quodnam . . . esset**,' and '**quid rei . . . esset**' follow on '**quaerentibus**.' Keeping some of the arrangement, we may render it 'on the Romans inquiring what kind of right was this, to demand land from its occupiers or to threaten war, and what business the Gauls had in Etruria, when the latter proudly replied that they carried their right in their swords, and that the world belongs to the brave, the passions of both sides were aroused and they rush to arms and join battle.'

§ 6. *urgentibus*, 'dooming,' 'were heavy on.'

iuris gentium = *iuris humani* 37. 4. In this general sense the phrase means the rights between nations. For the history and development of the idea, Sir H. Maine's *Ancient Law* is the standard treatise.

clam, adverb.

Romanæ iuventutis, 'of the Roman soldiery.'

peregrina, i.e. 'Romana.' The valour of the Romans was conspicuous above that of the Clusini.

§ 7. *evectus equo*, 'riding,' 'charging.'

per latus, &c., 'ran him through with his spear and killed him.' Cp. (as before quoted) Virg. *Aen.* 1. 29 'iactatos aequore toto Troas arcebat Latio.'

legentem, 'collecting.' Cp. 'legere nuces,' 'oleam,' 'herbas,' 'flores.'

signum datum est, 'the word passed, that he was the Roman envoy.'

§ 8. *omissa* = forgetting, giving up.

vicere, 'prevailed,' as in Sall. Jug. 15. 1 'vicit tamen in Senatu pars illa quae . . .'

questum . . . *postulatum*, supines.

§ 9. 'After the envoys had stated this according to their instructions, the senate did not approve of the act of the Fabii, and besides, the barbarians' demand appeared just.'

in viris, 'in the case of men.'

ambitio, 'party feeling,' 'interested motives.'

§ 10. *ipsos*, 'the senate,' 'the patres.' 'That the blame of any disaster which might possibly be suffered in a war with the Gauls might not lie upon themselves.' Madvig inserts 'si' which the MSS. omit: 'forte acceptae' would really mean 'which by chance *had been* suffered.'

cognitionem, 'decision,' 'investigation.' Its special meaning as a legal term (first employed apparently by Cicero) is 'judicial inquiry.'

reiciunt. Cp. 22. 1 'ad senatum rem arbitrii sui reiecisset.'

ubi = *apud populum*.

§ 11. *haud secus quam dignum erat infensi*, 'justly enraged.'

Chap. 37, § 1. *tanta moles*, 'this terrible calamity.'

vim ingruentem, 'impending doom.'

refringi, 'to be resisted.'

ultima auxilia, 'the last resource,' 'the last expedient.'

tempestatibus, 'on many occasions.' In spite of the context here, the sense of 'troubled times' is not found with this word in Livy. Cp. 45. 1 'ea tempestate.'

§ 2. *ea*, 'civitas.'

oris, 'regions.' Cp. the Lucretian phrase 'in luminis oras.'

§ 3. *nihilò accuratiorem*, 'with no greater care.'

media, 'ordinary.' Cp. '*medium ingenium*' of Galba, Tac. Hist.

1. 49.

extenuantes, 'depreciating,' 'making light of.'

§ 4. *ultra*, from *ultra*, 'going over and beyond,' 'actually,' 'had gone so far as to pay honour to.'

elusam, 'scorned,' 'insulted.'

cuius impotens = for they are a very passionate people; lit. not master of; 9. 14. 5 '*gens impotens rerum suarum*.'

§ 5. *tumultum*, here literally 'at the noise of their hurried march.' It is the special word used of a rising in Italy or of the Gauls. The picture here given is very vivid.

equis. We might have had '*agmine equorum virorumque*,' 'occupying an enormous space of country with their widely spread host of horses and men.'

§ 6. *deinceps inde*, 'and in succession from them' (the Clusians).

§ 7. *quippe quibus*. Usually, with subjunctive in Livy, while Sallust prefers indicative: it explains '*plurimum terroris*' = the swiftness of the enemy carried a very great panic to Rome: indeed, they barely managed to meet them.

tumultuario, 'hastily levied,' i.e. raised to meet a sudden '*tumultus*' or outbreak.

Alia. Virg. Aen. 7. 717 '*infaustum interluit Alia nomen*.' Cp. infra 6. 1, the day of the battle was called '*Aliensis dies*,' and was made '*insignem rei nulli publice privatimque agendae*.' The date a.d. xv Kal. Sext. (July 16) was the day on which the Fabii had been cut to pieces at the Cremera, 2. 50.

infra viam, i.e. below, south of the high road.

§ 8. *nata in vanos tumultus*, 'to whom foolish rioting is second nature.'

truci cantu. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 65 '*nox per diversa iniquis, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium complerent*;' and infra 39. 5 '*ululatus cantusque dissonos*.'

Chap. 38, § 1. *non praemunito vallo*, 'without fortifying an entrenched position.'

si non, 'to say nothing of.' The idea obviously is, 'If they could not think of human interests (e.g. safety of their soldiers, &c.) they might at least have thought of the gods.'

litato, 'without auspices or omens obtained by due sacrifice.' '*Litare*' is used of a sacrifice which gains favour, a propitiatory sacrifice.

diductam, 'deployed,' 'extended.'

§ 2. *aequari frontes*, 'their line could not be made as broad as the enemy's.'

quum, 'although,' or 'while.'

ut . . . sic, 'while the source of panic, was still,' &c.

§ 3. *artem*, 'stratagem.'

ad id, with 'ut' following, 'for this purpose that.'

aversos transversosque, 'on their rear and flank.'

§ 4. *signa convertit*, 'leads his troops.'

haud dubius, 'confident that, if he dislodged them.'

ratio, 'tactics.'

§ 5. *nihil simile Romanis*, 'nothing worthy of.'

hostium, not now belonging to an enemy, but to point the contrast between Veii and Rome.

quum, 'although the Tiber lay between them and Veii.'

§ 6. *simul est auditus* = *simul ac*.

proximis, &c. The Gauls evidently out-maneuvred the Romans, though this is the only hint given of the fact: the war-cry of the enemy being heard by those nearest on their flank (a dextera) and by the rear-guard behind them.

§ 7. *nec ulla*, &c., 'no lives were lost in actual combat.'

terga caesa. It is simplest to take this as it stands: 'They were cut down from behind in their own struggling amid the crowd that impeded the flight.'

§ 8. *Tiberis*. The men on the left wing would have to cross the Tiber to reach Veii, and this was successfully done by the greater part of them.

graves = *gravati*.

gurgites, 'were sucked under,' 'drowned in the water.' 'Gurges' does not always mean a whirlpool: here it describes the swirling waters surging about as the soldiers dashed in. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 310 'ad terram gurgite ab alto Quam multae glomerantur aves' = from the deep ocean.

§ 9. *non modo quicquam* = *non modo nihil*, the second negative being, as commonly, omitted when 'ne . . . quidem' follows.

praesidii = troops.

Chap. 39, § 1. *miraculum*, 'the marvel of,' i.e. astonishment at.

pavore, 'amazement.' Also of the excitement of joy or expectation. Virg. Georg. 3. 106 'exultantiaque haurit Corda pavor pulsans.'

§ 2. *postquam*. With imperfect to denote contemporaneous action, 'now that they saw no sign of the enemy.'

excubare, 'on guard,' lit. to lie or sleep out of doors.

sustinuit, 'stopped.'

§ 3. *ignotae situm urbis*, 'their ignorance of the plan of the city.'

quaenam . . . essent, 'to discover what really were the designs.'

§ 4. *Romani*. There is a slight anacoluthon and confusion in this sentence. Lit. it runs, 'The Romans all living and dead alike being bewailed filled the city with lamentations.' It is not often that a

person thus acted upon is put for the act itself = the laments for all alike, the living and the dead, filled the city with weeping. 'Romani' is really superfluous, and might be taken as = to 'at Rome.'

§ 5. *stupefecit* = stunned.

ululatus. Cf. *δαλύω*; an onomatopoeic word.

§ 6. *identidem* = every moment.

adventus, sc. 'suspensos tenuit,' to which 'omne tempus' is the subject in the preceding clause = ob adventum.

hoc consilii, i.e. impetum in urbem facere.

§ 7. *se*, 'object,' thinking that the Gauls would attack them.

§ 8. *ipsum malum continens*, 'the danger feared coincided with their ceaseless terror.'

signa infesta, 'when the troops advanced to the attack.'

illi, sc. 'civitati quae,' to those who had.

§ 9. *cum coniugibus*, infra 40. 4. It would seem that Livy had forgotten that wives and children had been included in this resolution.

arceum Capitoliumque, hendiadys = to the citadel on the Capitol.

§ 10. *inde*, redundant, 'from this fortified post.'

§ 11. *saora*, including vessels, goblets, images of the gods.

deseri, after placuit, 'that the worship of the gods should not be abandoned, until there was none left to perform it.'

§ 12. *caput publici consilii*, the chief Council of the State (the head of public policy).

facilem iacturam, 'the loss of the aged was nothing,' Virg. Aen. 2. 646 'Facilis iactura sepulcri.'

utique periturae, 'inevitably doomed to die.' 'Turbæ' either in apposition to 'seniorum,' or governing it.

§ 13. *de plebe multitudo* = the mass of the plebs, the multitude composed of plebeians.

consulares, 'ex-consuls.'

illis, 'plebe.'

Chap. 40, § 1. *iactata*, 'that passed,' 'uttered.' Used also of troubled thought or utterance. Virg. Aen. 2. 558 'talìa iactabam et furia mente ferebar.'

commendantes, 'entrusting to their valour and their manly strength whatever fate might be left for the city which for 360 years had been victorious in all its wars.'

§ 2. *Digredientibus*, ablative absolute. The subject is 'iis, qui secum ferebant,' 'as these, who . . . were separating from those,' &c.

§ 3. *ipsa res speciesque* = the separation was a painful sight to see.

incerta, 'wild rushing to and fro.'

sequentium, as though 'mulierum' had preceded: 'as they followed.'

cui se = (1) asking husband and son to what fate they were dooming themselves; (2) to what fate they were leaving them. 'Se ipsas' or 'ipsas' would make (2) more clear; it seems better than (1), as at least there was more hope for those shut up in an impregnable position than for the helpless people left at the mercy of the invader.

nihil, &c., 'completed the scene of suffering,' 'filled up the cup of human suffering.' Cp. Tac. Ann. I. 21 'nihil reliqui faciunt quominus invidiam . . . permoverent.'

suos persecutae, 39. 9.

quod utile, 'the policy which was expedient for men besieged in order to keep down the number of non-combatants, was scarcely human;' for the construction, cp. Cic. de Off. 3. 10. 40 'quod erat utile, patriae consulere, id erat honestum.'

§ 5. alia, 'another host, chiefly plebeians;' the genitive here, as 'de plebe multitudo' supra 39. 13.

agmine iam uno, 'in one unbroken line.'

§ 6. pars . . . dilapsi, just as 'pars consecutae' supra 4, and infra 41. 1 'turba seniorum regressi.'

deploratis = desperatis; 3. 38. 2 'deploratur in perpetuum libertas.'

§ 7. flamen, derived from root of 'fla-gro,' 'he who burns offerings,' 'a priest.'

omissa, &c., 'regardless of their own belongings.'

§ 8. in doliolis, 'in casks in a shrine next to the house,' &c.

ubi nunc despui religio est = where men now are forbidden to spit: lit. there is a conscientious scruple that it be spit upon. Of spitting as a means of averting disease or retribution of the gods, cf. Tib. I. 2. 54 'ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus;' and Juvenal 'conspuiturque sinus' (Mayor).

sublicio, 'bridge of piles;' 'sublica,' a stake driven into the ground. The bridge is famous for the story of Horatius Cocles, 2. 10.

§ 9. vehens = driving.

§ 10. salvo. Used as a particle in the form of ablative absolute, preserving even then the distinction. Cp. 'captivis ducibus.'

religiosum = sacrilege.

ferri, 'carried in the hand,' opposed to 'vehi,' carried in a waggon. The whole sentence is another instance of Livy's ease of construction.

Chap. 41, § 1. ut, 'considering their condition,' lit. as being in such a condition.

turba . . . regressi, supra 40. 6, note.

obstinato, 'resolved, determined to die.'

§ 2. curules, i.e. offices which entitled them to the use of the 'sella curulis,' the chair of state, adopted from the Etruscans, and inlaid with

ivory. Consuls, dictators, censors, and 'tribuni militum' had this distinction at this date, the 'praetor urbanus' and 'aediles curules' being only elected in a.c. 367, infra 6. 42. 14.

quae . . . ea. Clad in the most magnificent robes which they wore when drawing the 'tensae,' the chariots in which the images of the gods were drawn at the 'ludi Circenses.'

medio aedium, infra 8 'in aedium vestibulis.'

§ 3. praeseunte, 'reciting.'

§ 4. a contentione, 'they had lost their eagerness to fight.'

ancipiti, 'hardly-contested.'

impetu aut vi. The words seem synonymous. 'Impetus' might refer to an attack following on the defeat of the enemy; 'vi' to an assault after a siege.

Porta Collina. N.E. of the city, under the Quirinal hill: in imperial times, when the city boundaries were extended, this was an inner gate; the Porta Nomentana, on the Via Nomentana, being the gate in the city wall.

§ 5. vacuis occursum = in the empty streets where none met them.

§ 6. fraus, 'stratagem.'

§ 7. aedificiis, 'houses.'

atriis, 'halls,' 'mansions.'

§ 8. adeo haud secus quam, 'to such an extent even with real feelings of respect.'

humano augustiorem, 'grander than that of men.'

maiestate, with 'simillimos.'

prae se ferebat, 'displayed.'

§ 9. promissa. Cp. Hor Sat. 2. 3. 35 'sapientem pascere barbam.'

soipio, 'a staff.' The root is the same as in Gk. σκήπτρον.

Gallo . . . permulcenti. The dative after 'iram movisse,' 'excited the anger of a Gaul by bringing down his staff upon his head.'

§ 10. parci. Impersonal, as almost invariably with the passive of verbs which govern a dative: 'not a man was spared.'

Chap. 42, § 1. seu = whether because.

omnibus, 'the rank and file of the Gauls,' opposed to 'principibus.'

si = to see if, to try if.

§ 2. perinde atque in, 'just as in,' 'as is usual in.'

§ 3. non solum = non solum non.

mentibus . . . consipere, 'keep their senses, but could not even believe their eyes and ears.'

§ 4. avertisset, 'diverted their attention,' i.e. by calling it away from anything else. So 1. 12. 10 (Madvig) 'averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos.'

paventēs, 'they turned with terror in their hearts and faces and eyes.'

positi, viz. Romani, 'set there, as it were, by fortune to watch the downfall of their native land.'

nec . . . relioti, 'and left to defend nothing that belonged to them except their lives.'

§ 5. tanto . . . quod = eo quod.

§ 6. excepit, 'followed,' 'succeeded.'

quod . . . cessaret = free from, without.

§ 7. nihil tamen. 'Still, in spite of all their burden of overwhelming trouble, their courage did not flinch from the task of defending.' 'Quin' is constantly thus brought in after a negative idea in the preceding sentence.

quamvis, 'poor and small as it was.'

libertati reliotum, 'the last stronghold of freedom.'

§ 8. abalienaverant, 'they had accustomed their minds not to think of.'

Chap. 43, § 1. nequicquam, 'without result,' because they met with no opposition, and the Romans on the Capitol did not surrender.

hostes, 'enemies to the Gauls,' i.e. Romans.

experiri ultima, 'to make a desperate attempt.'

§ 2. testudo. See note on 5. § 6.

nihil temere, sc. 'agunt.' The sentence contains characteristics of Tacitus' style.

signa ferri, 'the advance was made.'

robore virorum, 'picked soldiers.'

quo . . . eo, express proportion.

§ 3. restitere, 'the Gauls halted.'

atque = and then, so 'inde' is redundant as in 39. 10; or it might anticipate 'fudere:' drove them from the spot, the 'medius clivus.'

sua sponte, 'naturally, without any effort of the Romans.'

ea, 'such terrible . . .'

ut . . . tentaverint. The perf. subj. is used in subordinate clauses to express a fact which actually happened.

§ 4. subeundi, of climbing up, of succeeding.

immemores, 'for which they had taken no measures.'

et . . . et, 'both . . . and.'

raptum, by the Romans; 'hurriedly carried off to Veii.'

§ 5. placuit, 'they arranged.'

partim, for 'partem' = some, one half. It is even used as a substantive with genitive following, 26. 46 'partim copiarum ad tumultum expugnandum mittit.' Compare the suggestion given by Thuc. 1. 11

of a similar division of the Greek army before Troy, to account for the length of the war.

§ 6. *ipsa*, emphatic, the hand of Fortune, 'unquestionably.'

Ardeam. The capital of the Rutuli when Aeneas, according to the legend, landed in Italy, Virg. Aen. 7. 411:—

'Locus Ardea quondam

Dictus avis; et nunc magnum tenet Ardea nomen;

Sed fortuna fuit.'

§ 7. *quum . . . senesceret* = a Greek participle, 'growing aged,' 'growing weary.'

§ 8. *fortius . . . felicius*, 'with more bravery than luck.' The Latin idiom puts both adjectives into the comparative.

divino spiritu, supra 22. 5.

Chap. 44, § 1. *novi . . . cives*, 'now my countrymen.'

ita tulit, 'since your kindness has made it so,' i.e. 'fecit me civem vestrum.'

quod. The genitive 'praesidii' depends upon this, 'to bring to the common stock, to contribute what help a man can in the time of danger.'

§ 2. *pro tantis*, 'for your great services.'

cessavero, 'if I am slow now.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 51 'Cessas in vota precesque.'

hac arte, i.e. 'arte militari.'

steti, 'I was successful,' 'I stood secure.' Virg. Aen. 1. 268 'Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno.'

§ 3. *Vobis* is answered by 'huic urbi,' 'oblata est fortuna' going with both: 'you have an opportunity to requite with gratitude the great kindnesses of the Romans, and the citizens have an opportunity to win great military glory.'

exprobranda, 'beneficia,' 'they need not be made a reproach;' the phrase is an apology for mentioning the 'beneficia.'

adventat, 'are trooping up.'

§ 4. *eo*, 'therefore.'

§ 5. *Argumento*, 'proof.'

§ 6. *repleti*, 'gorged.'

appetit, neuter, 'comes on.' Supra 19. 1 'Veiis fata appetebant.'

sternuntur, 'they throw themselves down.'

ab secundis rebus, 'on account of,' 'after their success.'

§ 7. *neq. pati*, 'and not to permit the whole country to become Gallia.'

prima vigilia, 'nox in quattuor vigiliis dividitur, quae singulae trium horarum spatio supputantur' = are reckoned (from the Letters of S. Jerome).

non recuso, 'I willingly accept the same issue for myself, as I experienced at Rome.'

Chap. 45, § 1. *aequis iniquisque* = friends and foes.

tantum, supra 23. 1 'maximum imperatorum omnium.'

intenti quam mox, 'eagerly awaiting the moment when.'

§ 2. **primae noctis**, 'prima vigilia,' supra 44. 7.

praesto. The dictionaries explain it as dative from 'praestus,' a superlative form of 'prae;' so 'praesto esse alicui' = to be in the foremost place for a person, close, ready for him.

intuta, 'unguarded.' In Tac. Hist. i. 33 'intuta quae indecora' = unsafe.

naeti, 'finding.'

§ 3. **soluta**. Cf. the Homeric expression *λύτο γυῖα*, 'in the thralldom of sleep;' 'the men were cut down naked, unnerved, and asleep.'

quae aut, &c., after 'ignaros.'

vis, 'the attack.'

improvidos, 'unawares.'

§ 4. **prope quadringentesimum**. More specifically, supra 40. 1 'per trecentos sexaginta annos;' infra 54. 5 'Trecentesimus sexagesimus quintus annus.'

adeo nihil, 'were so far from feeling pity for the city . . . as to make.'

oppugnare. The use of the infinitive after such a phrase ('in animo habere') shows that the infinitive was originally a substantival form, 'they had in their minds *the attacking*.'

§ 6. **indignitas**, here explained as = the disgrace, the indignity, as it clearly is infra 48. 9 'rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est.'

Etrusci. Clusium being a city of Etruria, supra 33. 6 'cum his Etruscorum,' i.e. Clusinis.

§ 7. **animis**, their indignation, 'themselves.'

compressi, 'checked.'

sustinuere, 'put off.'

§ 8. **auctor**, 'a leader.'

fortunae eventus = the same successful issue.

ducibus captivis, 'guided by the prisoners.'

Salinae. The name means 'Salt-works or mines;' but this place could hardly be the same as the well-known salt mines near Ostia, for both the Tuscans and the Romans from Veii would have had to pass the Gauls in Rome to reach Ostia; infra 7. 19 'agrum circa Romanas salinas.'

Chap. 46, § 1. *silentium*, 'no active measures.'

convertit, 21. 4. 2 'Hannibal primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit.'

statum, participle from 'sisto;' infra 52. 2 'dies statim.'

Gabino cinctu. A peculiar mode of adjusting the toga for the performance of ceremonial rites. 10. 7. 3 'incinctum Gabino cultu'; Virg. Aen. 7. 612:—

'Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino

Insignis.'

Gabii was twelve miles east of Rome.

terrorem, 'threats.'

§ 3. eadem, sc. 'via.'

constanti, 'undaunted.'

satis sperans, 'fully assured that the gods were favourable.'

esse, not 'fore,' to emphasise his conviction.

quorum . . . deseruisset, 'since, inasmuch as he had not neglected.'

§ 4. voluntariis, supra 16. 5.

ut in parte = to share.

§ 6. Locus ipse, supra 30. 2 'insistere omnes vestigiis laudum suarum,' of Veii.

admonebat Camilli. Cp. Sall. Jug. 95. 2 'nos tanti viri res admonuit.'

se commissurum cur, 'declared that he would give no occasion for any . . . to terminate his command rather than.' The sense is, 'if Caedicius a *centurio* acted as though he did not need an *imperator*, he would risk being put down as a usurper: he preferred to ask for an *imperator*, and thus resign his command, and not have it taken from him.'

§ 7. sed antes, i.e. but not till the senate had been consulted.

discrimina rerum, 'proper distinctions.'

rebus, 'everything.'

§ 8. transeundum erat, 'some one had to cross.'

secundo Tiberi, 'down the Tiber.'

§ 9. proximum a ripa = via qua ei eunti a ripa Capitolium fuit proximum, 'where the Capitol was nearest to the bank,' or 'by the nearest route from.'

neglectum custodia, 'incustoditum ab hostibus.'

§ 10. curiatis, supra 1. 1, and infra 52. 16.

revocatus = if recalled, when recalled. § 11.

iussu, 'by the will of the nation.'

§ 11. seu, 'or else,' 'and we would rather believe that he did not leave Ardea until he learnt that the law was passed.' The senate could only pass a 'consultum' authorising or recommending this course; and since the Roman 'populus' was now at Veii, the Comitia Curiata would be held there and the lex passed: until this was done, Camillus had no political status.

mutari finibus, 'he could not be removed in point of territory (in domicile),' i.e. into Roman territory.

Chap. 47, § 2. *vestigio*. Compare the account in Sall. Jug. 93.

ad Carmentis. Near the temple of Carmentis; according to the legend, she was the mother of Evander, who came from Arcadia with him. Carmenta 1. 7. 8 'fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum.' Ovid, Fasti 1. 449 seq.

sublustrī. 'Sub' in composition often means 'faintly'; just as 'sub noctem' = *about* nightfall, indefinite.

alterni, 'alternately helped up, and helping their comrades.'

§ 3. *fallo* = *λανθάνω*.

sollicitum, 'a creature always excited by noises in the night.' Cp.

Lucr. 5. 864 'levisomna canum fido cum pectore corda.'

§ 4. *Anseres*, object.

sacris Iunonis, 'because sacred to Juno.'

in summa: to get the force of 'tamen,' translate 'in spite of the great scarcity.'

triennio ante. The point of time answering the question, 'How long ago?' is put in the ablative.

vadit, 'rushes out.'

§ 5. *casus* is the subject of 'sterneret,' *Manlius* of 'trucidat.'

proturbare; the preposition as in 'prolapsi,' 'drive them forward or away.'

ruina, here said to be used 'tropice' = in destruction; 'the whole host tumbling and overthrown were hurled headlong.'

§ 7. *classico*. The 'classicum' was the trumpet by which soldiers in camp were summoned to an assembly, 2. 45. 12 'quum silentium classico fecisset.'

perperam, an accusative like 'clam,' 'coram,' 'palam,' and in plural, 'alias;' = wrongly.

donatus, 'received presents.'

§ 8. *cui*, 'for (all the soldiers gave) to him.'

selibras, semi-libra.

quartarios. One-fourth of any measure, perhaps of a 'sextarius,' which is a liquid measure = a pint, one-sixth of a 'congius.'

rem, accusative in apposition to the object of the sentence.

corpore atque, &c., 'from his personal and necessary wants.'

§ 9. *fefellerat adscendens* = *ἐλαθεν ἀναβὰς*, had climbed up unnoticed.

more militari, probably the 'fustuarium' supra 6. 14. But that was the special punishment for a deserter, and the criminal here was thrown down from the rock; so that death in some form or other is evidently the 'supplicium' intended.

§ 11. *intentiores*, 'were more strict.'

commeare, 'pass to and fro.'

ab, 'by reason of.'

Chap. 48, § 2. *quum loco*, 'because they were encamped in a place which was at once a valley and also was parched by the burning of the city, and full of exhalations, and because the wind, whenever it rose at all, carried clouds of ashes as well as dust about.' As the sentence stands, '*ferente*' seems to go with '*locus*'; but the clause '*quum quid*,' &c. can be taken as the subjective of the participle, '*vento*' being understood, and transferred into the relative clause. Cp. *supra* 40. 2 '*Digredientibus qui . . . ferebant*.'

§ 3. *humori et frigori*, 'a damp and cold climate.'

angore. Perhaps in its literal sense 'choking' (*ango*), 'plagued by the heat and almost stifled.'

vulgatis, 'spreading.'

busta Gallica, 22. 14. 11.

§ 4. *identidem*; *dei*, constantly, 'repeatedly put forward their state of famine.'

§ 5. *iam = tandem*.

per se, 'on his side,' he being at Ardea, and his '*magister equitum*' at Veii.

parat instruitque, 'raises and equips troops in order to attack the enemy without any disadvantage.'

§ 6. *stationibus vigiliisque*, 'by picket and guard duty.'

diem de die, for '*de die in diem*.'

§ 7. *iaculantibus non obscure*, 'hinting quite plainly.'

haud magna, 'that they could be induced, for no extravagant sum, to raise the blockade.'

§ 8. *negotium*, 'the duty was assigned.'

transacta res, 'an arrangement was made.'

pondo, indecl. used as substantive; cp. '*frugi*,' adj.

mox imperaturi, 'destined to be empress of the world.' Virg. Aen. 6. 852 '*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*.'

§ 9. *indignitas*, *supra* 45. 6, 'an insult.'

recusante, 'remonstrated.'

vae, cf. Gk. *oûai*, 'woe.' The same phrase occurs in Plant. Pseud. 5. 2. 35, in the mouth of the drunken Pseudolus.

Chap. 49, § 1. *infanda*, 'awful,' 'shameful.' Virg. Aen. 2. 3 '*infandum renovare dolorem*' = unspeakable.

altercatio, from '*alter*,' a dispute between two parties.

§ 2. *ratam*, 'binding.' The plea is very characteristic on the part of the Roman, with his reverence for strictly legal forms. Cp. 46. 11 *supra*: and it serves to put him in the right, as, according to his legal quibble, the '*pactio*' was '*irrita*,' not binding.

iniussu, only used in ablative.

§ 3. *in conspectu*, 'with the temples of the gods before their eyes, and their wives and children and the soil of their native land disfigured

by the horrors of war, and all that it is their sacred duty ('*fas*') to protect and recover.'

§ 5. *nova re*, 'the change of affairs,' 'unexpected change.'

haud maiore momento, 'with no greater effort:' *momentum* = *molimentum*. Madvig says, 'Pro *momento* posueram *molimento*, hoc est, difficultate, *molimine*. Sed etiam 8. 19. 8, et 21. 43. 11, *levi momento* victi dicuntur, qui facile victi sunt.'

quam = *quam quo*, than that with which.

§ 6. *altero*; 21. 14. 11 'postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones.'

omnia obtinuit, 'prevailed everywhere.'

§ 7. *inconditos*, 'among the rough (extemporaneous) jests which the soldiers utter.'

parens patriae. Juv. 8. 244, quoted in note to 4. § 11.

haud vanis, 'well-deserved.'

Chap. 50, § 1. *cultor*. Hor. Odes 1. 34. 1 'Parcus deorum cultor;' 'most careful in his respect to.'

rettulit, 'ad senatum,' proposed, laid before them.

senatus, subject.

§ 2. *terminarentur*, 'the boundaries should be marked out.'

in libris . . . *duumviri*, supra 13. 5.

hospitium publicæ, the rights of *ξενία*, supra 28. 5 'hospitium cum Timasitheo factum donaque publice data.'

Caere. The inhabitants received the Roman '*civitas*' without the '*ius suffragii*' for their services in this war. Hence the phrase, Hor. Ep. 1. 6. 62, '*Caerite cera digni*,' because when Romans were disfranchised, they were put on the list of such '*cives*' as the Caerites who had no '*ius suffragii*.' Its old name was Agylla.

§ 4. *flerent*. In apposition to the preceding verbs after '*consultum facit*.'

collegium, 'a board' (of managers).

§ 5. *Expiandæ*, 'of atoning for,' after '*mentio*.' Supra 32. 6.

Aius Locutius, 'Wonderful Utterer.' The name is apparently invented to suit the deity supposed to have given the information; it is not used except with reference to this miraculous message about the Gauls.

§ 6. *cella*, the part of the temple where the image stood, 'the chapel,' 'shrine.'

quum, 'since there was no distinct recollection.'

§ 7. *in publico*, sc. '*aerario*.'

summa . . . *confieret*. Passive of '*conficere*,' = like '*cogere pecuniam*,' to get together, make up a sum of money. Cic. Fl. 9. 20 '*conficiendæ pecuniae rationes*.'

honos. Cp. the '*honos*' for a similar act of patriotism on the part of the '*matronae*;' supra 25. 9.

laudatio, 'funeral oration.' Cic. de Sen. 4. 12 'est in manibus *laudatio*.'

§ 8. *tum demum*, 'then only,' 'not till then.' The '*diligentissimus deorum cultor*' (supra, § 1) took care for the observance of religious duties before meeting the tribunes. His speech concludes the book.

contionibus, 'harangues.'

escendit, to the tribunal or platform from which he would address the assembly, the *βήμα* of Athens. Afterwards called the *Rostra*, because ornamented with the beaks of ships taken from the enemy.

Chap. 51, § 1. *nec . . . et*. Greek would put *μὲν . . . δέ*, 'while, . . . at the same time.'

aliud quam quod, 'no other consolation but the fact that.'

eodem hæc, 'certamina cum tribunis.' Cp. supra 29, 30.

fuero rediturus, 'I meant never to return.'

§ 2. *mea voluntas mutata*, 'no change in my own feelings.'

ut, after 'id agebatur' = the issue was that.

utique = under any circumstances; we might say 'I personally.'

dimico, 'mico' = to wave, to brandish.

nefas, 'a sin,' 'a neglect of sacred duty.'

§ 3. *quum*, 'whereas.'

§ 4. *religiones*, 'if no observances had been established and handed down from hand to hand.'

affuit, 'was present to help.'

§ 5. *horum deinceps*, 'of the last few years in succession.'

sequentibus, 'to you when you obeyed.'

§ 6. *laeu Albano*: supra 15. 4; 16. 9; 19. 1.

§ 7. *gentium ius . . . violatum*: supra 36. 6, 8; 37. 4.

spreta . . . violatum . . . praetermissum; supply 'est,' or 'erat.'

§ 8. *redempti*, rhetorical; 49. 1 'dii et homines prohibere redemptos vivere Romanos.'

documento, 'a warning.'

admonuerunt religionum; supra 46. 6 'admonebat Camilli.'

§ 9. *alia . . . alia*, neuter plurals, 'some . . . others.' Weissenborn has 'terræ.'

deserti, 'though abandoned.' Concessive participle.

§ 10. *caeci avaritia*. Virg. Aen. 3. 49 'auri cum pondere magno'; *ibid.* 56:—

'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis

Auri sacra fames?'

foedus ac fidem. Note on supra 49. 2.

Chap. 52, § 1. *Hæc tanta momenta*, 'these (instances of) the great influence,' 'importance.'

eoquid, 'can you at all?'

quantum paremus nefas, 'what a crime we are engaged in.'

§ 2. *dies statim quam loca*; supra 46. 2 'sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle;' infra, § 3.

privatos. Lares, Penates, of each house, familia, or gens.

§ 3. *Quam par*, ironical.

§ 4. *gentilicia sacra*. The bond of union between the members of a gens was their common name (Fabia gens) and their religious rites. It is to this that the consuls (4. 2. 5) refer when arguing against the 'lex de connubio' of Canuleius, 'Colluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspiciorum publicorum privatorumque afferre . . . ut ignoret cuius sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit.'

sollemni, substantive, as in the preceding section.

§ 5. *missuros*, subject 'nos.'

salvis caerimoniis, 'without violating the rites.'

§ 6. *perceuseam*, 'reckon up.'

pulvinar, 'the cushioned seat.' Supra 13. 6 'suscipi' = lifted up.

§ 7. *ancilibus*; 1. 20 4 'Salios XII Marti Gradivo legit . . . caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre iussit.' Perhaps from the same root as ἀγκυλος, 'curved,' 'rounded.'

Gradive, perhaps from 'gradus,' who marches to war.

Quirinus, from 'Cures,' a Sabine town. The word shows the importance of the Sabines at the beginning of Rome.

profano; cf. 'profectus,' outside the sanctuary, i.e. unconsecrated. *aequalia* = contemporaneous with the (origin of the) city.

§ 8. *nobis*, after 'facienda.'

§ 9. *agite dum*; supra 34. 6.

quoties, 'how often,' depending on 'recordamini,' hence subjunctive.

instaurantur; supra 19. 1 'Latinae instauratae.'

modo, 'just lately.'

auspiciolorum; 17. 2 'magistratus vitio creatos . . . auspicia de integro repeterentur.'

affectae, 'saved the State weakened by the war with Veii.'

§ 10. *Iuno regina*; 22. 5, 6.

celebri, 'what a memorable day of rejoicing because of . . .'

§ 12. *fuimus relicturi*, 'if we intended to leave.'

voluntate, 'of our own freewill.'

§ 13. *piaculi*, here = crime.

Dialis, Διός, Diespiter.

noctem unam, 'compare the duty of the . . .'

§ 14. *peregre*, ('per-ager,' one who has gone through lands), i.e. away from home, out of the city.

tantum piaculi, 'this serious guilt.'

§ 15. *pomoerium*: 'post-murus,' according to Varro, a space within and without the walls of a town left free from buildings, bounded by 'cippi' or 'termini'; 1. 26. 6 'verberato vel intra pomoerium vel extra pomoerium.'

§ 16. Comitia. See supra i. 1, note.

tanto incommodo, 'with enormous inconvenience.'

Chap. 53, § 1. At enim, elliptical. 'But I will say no more about this point, for it is obvious.' Virg. Aen. 2. 163:—

'Impius ex quo

Tydidēs sed enim.'

i.e. but Pallas ceased to help us, for, since Tydides.

vastam = vastatam.

ad integra, &c., to Veii where all is complete, uninjured.

§ 2. iactari. 'I think, Quirites, it is obvious to you that this plea is rather a pretext (thrown out) than a true reason.'

ut ego, 'although I were not to say so.'

actam esse. First in 24. 7, supra.

§ 3. nec mirati sitis. Hor. Odes 1. 18. 1:—

'Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem.'

Imperative.

§ 4. esset, 'might be;' = fuisset.

§ 5. victores, 'as conquerors, after victory.' Subject of 'videbimur.' hoc necessitatis, together. Cp. supra 'quantum, tantum piaculi,'

et saepe. To the nominatives supply 'videbitur.'

conscisceremus, 'bring on ourselves.' Compare the phrase 'sibi mortem consciscere' = to commit suicide.

§ 6. iam = mox.

multitudo; supra 34. 2 'abundans multitudo.'

§ 7. an malitis. 'Or would you prefer this to be your own and a desert than a city of your enemies?' 'Vestram' and 'hostium,' 'solitudinem' and 'urbem,' are antithetical.

§ 8. casa. The 'casa Romuli' was a thatched cottage on the Capitoline. Virg. Aen. 8. 654:—

'Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.'

Ovid, Fasti 3. 184 (176):—

'Aspice de canna straminibusque domum.'

satiū, comparative of 'satis,' preferable.

exsulatū publice (supine), 'to go as a nation into exile.'

§ 9. convenae pastoresque. Juv. 8. 274:—

'Maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,

Aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo;'

and supra i. 8. 6: 2. 1. 4.

quod singuli. Compare the description, in Juvenal 3. 312, of a fire in the city.

Chap. 54, § 1. fraude, 'by crime.'

vento diffusa flamma. Thuc. 2. 77, during the siege of Plataea, πρὸς τὴν τε ἐλπίδα αὐτῇ ἐπιφορὸν, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγον.

§ 2. Adeo nihil tenet, 'has our native soil absolutely no hold upon us?'

superficie. In the language of jurists 'a building' as being above ground.

§ 3. *iniuriæ vestrae*, 'the wrong which you did to me.'

caelum . . . *educatus*. Juvenal 3. 84, 85 :—

'Usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
Hausit Aventini?'

moveant . . . *macerent*, 'a wish,' like the Greek optative. The present subjunctive is usually employed when the wish is likely to be fulfilled, the imperfect when its realisation is impossible, either in itself or according to the speaker's belief.

caritate sua, 'your affection for them;' '*suus*,' objective.

§ 4. *mediterraneis*, 'inland.'

devehantur, 'brought down stream.'

commoditates, 'for all convenience.'

nec, 'and not.' Ostia was less than twenty miles from Rome.

mediam, reckoning from North to South.

§ 5. *natum unice*, 'specially designed by nature.'

tot . . . *tam* . . . *tantum*. A characteristic Latin usage, which we should turn by 'all these,' 'with its enormous power.'

oppida. In apposition to *Volsci*, 'and all their powerful cities.'

latitudinem obtinens Italiae, 'occupying the whole breadth of Italy;' supra 33. 9 '*ei* (Etrusci) in utrumque mare vergentes.'

§ 6. *malum*; interjectional, 'in Heaven's name.'

expertis. There is apparently some corruption here; but as the text stands, the meaning is clear, 'what reason is there for you, who have had experience, to try something new?' The authorities say that the defence of this dative is impossible. Madvig and Ussing, comparing supra 21. 12 '*deiectis armatis*;' 40. 40. 15 '*exactoratis militibus impositis*;' Tac. Ann. 12. 14 '*profligatis obversis*,' say '*fortasse scribendum erat spreitis expertis*,' which would mean 'despising those who have had experience;' or if '*expertus*' be taken in its passive sense, as frequently used in and after the Augustan period, 'contemning what has been proved,' 'scorning experience.'

ut, 'supposing that;' supra 53. 2 '*ut ego non dicam*.'

§ 7. *capite humano*; 1. 55. 5 '*caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse*.' Compare the legend of the foundation of Carthage by Dido, Virg. Aen. 1. 443 :—

'Effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno

Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello

Egriam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.'

liberaretur, 'was being freed' (from buildings which obstructed the view). Cp. Cic. Leg. 2. 8. 21.

caelo demissa; Virg. Aen. 8. 664 '*lapsa ancilia caelo*.'

manentibus, 'if you remain.'

Chap. 55, § 1. *tum maxime*, 'but especially.'

curia Hostilia; I. 30. 2.

comitio, situated near the Forum: XII Tab. 'in comitio aut in foro.'

§ 2. *accipere omen*; cp. Cic. Div. I. 46. 103 'Mi pater, inquit, Persa (catellus) periit. Tum ille, accipio, inquit, mea filia, omen' (of victory over Perses).

§ 3. *promiscue*, 'indiscriminately.'

ius factum, 'the right to hew stone and cut timber was granted.'

praedibus, 'sureties,' 'on their giving security.'

§ 4. *ouram exemit*; cp. supra 51.4 'negligentiam exemptam hominibus.' 'Their haste made them careless of planning the streets.'

§ 5. *cloacae*, from 'cluo' = purgo, according to Pliny. Constructed by Tarquinius Priscus, I. 38.

per publicum, 'through state lands.'

occupatae . . . *divisae*, 'the shape of the city looks more like that of a place taken possession of than laid out.'

BOOK VI.

Chap. 1, § 1. The opening of this book may be compared with the first sentences of the second and twenty-first books, and also with Xenophon, 4. 1.

regibus. The early history of Rome, for which the usual dates given are from 754–510 B.C., is too uncertain to have its periods actually fixed. Consuls (Brutus and Collatinus) were first appointed B.C. 510 (I. *ad fin.*); and this, the highest magistracy in the Roman state, remained till the imperial period, being at times interrupted by the appointment of a dictator, once by 'decemviri' (451–449 B.C., Madvig), and afterwards by the appointment of 'tribuni militares cum consulari potestate,' 444–367 B.C., 4. 7 to end of this book. During this period consuls were occasionally elected. Under the emperors the office of consul, though merely honorary, was kept up; and consuls were elected at times to hold office for a single month only.

§ 2. *velut quae* = 'quippe quae,' being matters which . . .

litterae, 'written documents.'

una = sola, 'the sole faithful guardian of a record of the past.'

etiamsi quae . . . *pleraeque* = of any which . . . , the greater part.

publicis: laws, resolutions of the senate, treaties, &c.

privatis: family records, funeral panegyrics, inscriptions on statues.

§ 3. *deinceps*, 'dein capio,' like 'particeps,' 'princeps,' taking place next after.

laetius . . . *renatae*, 'as it were born again, springing up with a brighter and happier promise of fruit.'

§ 4. *princeps*, 'the leading citizen,' cp. 5. 30. 4. '*Princeps*' afterwards was used as an appellation of the emperors, for which *Caesar* and *Imperator* are synonyms.

neque . . . nisi = and only.

anno circumspecto. The siege began in July and lasted seven months. Livy probably means that Camillus held office till the end of the official year. (Weiss.)

§ 5. *Comitia . . . tribunos habere*; '*tribunos*' subject. The dictator apparently did not hold the *comitia* in virtue of his office on this occasion, though it would have been the usual course.

quorum . . . esset. Subjunctive of cause, 'because the tribunes were in office at the time of the capture of the city.'

interregnum; 5. 17. 4.

§ 6. *Q. Fabio*, son of *Q. Fabius Ambustus*, 5. 35. 36.

simul primum, 'at the very moment when.'

orator. In its sense of 'a speaker,' 'an envoy,' as in *Virg. Aen.*

7. 153:—

'Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
Ire iubet.'

§ 7. *voluntariam*. Compare 3. 58, the suicide of *Appius Claudius* the Decemvir.

§ 8. *Is . . . creat*, i.e. by holding the *comitia*; not like the '*dicere dictatorem*,' for which no election was required; the power of appointing a dictator vesting in the senate, and occasionally being exercised by the consul or highest state official. Cp. 3. 8. 2; 4. 7. 10.

§ 10. *duodecim tabulae*; 3. 33 seq. Cp. *Tac. Ann.* 3; *Livy* 34. 6. 7. A '*lex regia*,' said to belong to the time of *Servius Tullius*, is preserved in *Ennius*: '*Si parentem puer verberit, divis parentum sacer esto.*' Cp. *Hor. Ep.* 11. 1. 25.

comparerent, 'such as were in existence.'

edita in vulgus. Cp. 9. 46. 5 '*Civile ius, repositum in penetralibus pontificum, evulgavit fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit* [*Cn. Flavius, scriba*], *ut quando lege agi posset sciretur*,' and *Cic. Att.* 6. 1. 8.

religione obstrictos. Partly, no doubt, that they might keep to themselves the superiority which knowledge has over ignorance: partly, e.g. in regard to '*fasti*' and '*nefasti dies*,' for political purposes, and in order to break up a postponed meeting on some plea of bad omens, &c.

§ 11. *a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles*, i.e. July 16.

ad Cremeram. The tale of the '*Fabia gens*' who undertook by themselves the war against *Veii* is told in 2. 48-50.

insignem rei nulli. The dative after '*insignis*' is rare; '*memorable*, a day observed by the performance of no business public or

private.' Weissenborn reads 'nullius' = 'decreverunt ut esset dies nullius rei agendae, et per hoc insignis.'

§ 12. *postridie idus Quintiles*: June 14. 'Idus' is accusative, cp. 'postridie kalendas,' infra = 'die post idus,' as 'ante diem quintumdecimum Kalendas Sextiles' = 'quintodecimo die ante Kal. Sextiles.' The day after the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides was treated as 'ater dies.'

litasset; v. 38. 1 'nec auspicato nec litato.'

neque = et non.

pace, 'grace, favour.' Virg. Aen. 3. 370 'Exorat pacem divum.'

superseueri, 'to refrain from;' *impers. pass.*

The Kalends were on the first of each month: the Nones (ninth day before the Ides) on the fifth (except in March, July, October, and May, when they were on the seventh); and the Ides (root perhaps in 'di-vido,' dividing the month,) on the thirteenth, and in the four months enumerated on the fifteenth. Gellius, 5. 17 'Complures senatores recordari sese dixerunt, quoties belli gerundi gratia res divina postridie Kal. Non. Id. a magistratu populi Romani facta esset, eius belli proximo deinceps proelio rem publicam male gestam.'

Chap. 2, § 1. *quietis*; dat. sc. Romanis: 'the Romans were not long allowed to discuss in peace.'

seucom = by themselves, uninterrupted by strangers.

§ 2. *principum ex*, 'of the leading men out of all the nations of Etruria'; 5. 33. 1, note.

fanum Voltumnæ: 5. 17. 6; 4. 23.

mercatores: cp. 4. 24. 1.

§ 3. *defectione Latinorum*; infra 8. 3. 8 'defectio sociorum nominisque Latini haud dubia erat.' The great Latin War is dated 340–338 B.C.

laeum Regillum; 2. 19. 3, when Aulus Postumius was dictator. It was the final attempt and defeat of the exiled Tarquinii.

amicitia; cp. 10. 45. 6 'qui permultos annos in amicitia fuerant.'

§ 4. *laborare* = suffered from.

§ 6. *iustitio*; 'ius sisto,' a cessation of all business.

ita ut: lit. 'in such a manner that;' 'nay, and even.'

in verba sua iuratos, 'sworn to obey him.' Because the general or his subordinates administered the oath and the soldiers repeated the words of it after him, 3. 20. 3.

centuriaret, 'enrolled,' viz. in the centuries, the chief military division.

§ 7. *trifarium*, Greek *τρίπασις*.

Etruriæ opposuit, 'he posted to command Etruria.'

§ 8. *ad Mecium*. Near the Mecius, the name being Lanuvium ad Mecium, probably a hill in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium.

§ 9. *Camillus auditus imperator*, 'the news that Camillus was in command.' Cp. 26. 3 'quem adversarium maxime metuebant (Falisci).'

§ 10. *objectam*, 'raised against him,' 'that barred the way.'

§ 11. *ut fuerit*, 'that there (actually) was.'

superantibus in castra. Cf. 'consternari ad arma, in fugam' 7. 42. 3.

§ 12. *impetu* = *αἰτοβοεΐ*.

quo minus . . . eo; proportion: 'the less hoped for . . . the more gratifying.' Camillus' disposition of the plunder taken from Veii had caused his exile, 5. 32. 8 'die dicta propter Veientanam praedam;' 22. 1 'libera corpora vendidit: ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis.'

§ 13. *septuagesimo demum*, 'after seventy years of warfare.' It is hard to see why Livy chooses this period; as early as 495 B.C. (Cp. 2. 23) 'bellum Volscum imminabat,' which would be more than 100 years previous to the present date, 389 B.C.

§ 14. *et ipsos*, 'who also.'

ad Bolsas, 'near' = *apud*. Supra 8 'ad Mecium.'

Chap. 3, § 1. *ingruerat*; 5. 32. 7 'ingruente fato.'

§ 2. *Sutrium, socios*. For similar apposition, cp. infra 6. 13 'nova haec cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint;' 9. 1 'rei maiori, Antio, imminabat;' 13. 7 'principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides;' and supra 5. 32. 7 'humanam opem, quae una erat, M. Furium.'

tulere = received a resolution. Cp. 'responsum ferre.'

primo quoque tempore, 'as soon as possible.'

§ 3. *Cuius spei moram*; we should say, 'Could not wait for the fulfilment of this hope, this promise.'

inermis . . . emissa. Sing., as in strict grammatical sense it goes with 'paucitas.'

cum singulis vestimentis, 'each with only their clothes.'

§ 4. *necessitate expressam*, 'the address of the leading men, wrung from them by the cruellest necessity, was received with weeping, &c.'

se . . . ferre. *Oratio Obliqua*, as very frequently, added on to a phrase preceding, to explain or give a reason for it.

§ 5. *expedito*, 'unencumbered.'

ad Sutrium. Rather with 'invenit' than with 'profectus;' 'he found everything near Sutrium just as he expected, disorganised.'

§ 7. *quisque tenderent*. The Latin idiom is the same as the English: 'when they made their way, each for himself, to the gates.'

se elicere = to rush out, a common phrase: 1. 40 'ambo se foras eiiciunt.'

§ 8. *quos forte*, 'whom this sudden attack had found sword in hand.'

accensum ab desperatione, 'and it would have been fought with fury by reason of the enemy's desperate position.' Cp. 2. 47. 6 'Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit.'

§ 9. *quibus* = *ii quorum*, 'those, whose resolution.'

quod, 'a condition which chance had made safer.'

§ 10. *in custodias*, 'among guard-parties.'

Chap. 4, § 1. *trium*. Volsci, 2. 8 seq.; Aequi, 2. 14, and Etrusci.

§ 2. *sub hasta venundatis* (*venum do*), 'sold as slaves (by auction).' Cp. 'sub corona' 5. 22. 1.

redactum est, 'was realised.' Cp. Hor. Epod. 2. 69:—

'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;'

'got in.'

pretio, 'after paying to the *matronae* the value of the gold' which they had collected, 5. 50. 9, for the ransom demanded by the Gauls ('a *matronis collatum acceperant*').

§ 3. *Capitolium incensum*: B.C. 83. Cf. Tac. Ann. 6. 12, where the date is wrongly placed in the Social War, which ended in B.C. 88.

constat = we know.

§ 4. *in civitatem accepti*; 5. 8.

§ 5. *aedificandi Romae pigritia*, 'too idle to build at Rome.'

fremitus, 'murmuring,' 'grumbling;': infra 6. 17 of joy, '*patres gaudio fremunt*'; and so of a murmur of assent, Virg. Aen. 1. 559 '*cuncti simul ore fremebant*.'

praestituta, fixed in advance, i.e. 'a future date was fixed.'

capitalis poena. Punishments inflicted by law affected the '*caput*' or social and civil status of a '*civis*' in two ways. The status consisted of '*libertas*,' '*civitas*,' '*familia*.' A change of '*familia*' (e.g. by adoption or enfranchisement) was called '*minima capitis deminutio*.' The common result of a penal sentence (e.g. '*deportatio*,' '*aqua et igni interdictio*') was the loss of '*civitas*,' the '*media deminutio*.' The '*maxima*' occurred in the case of those '*qui servi poenae efficiuntur*,' e.g. freedmen condemned to slavery for ingratitude towards their '*patronus*.'

qui non, 'to any one who (by that date) should not have returned.'

ex ferocibus, 'reduced this headstrong union one by one to obedience, each man being afraid for himself.'

§ 6. *admonebat*, 'their wants made them feel the advantage' (of so working).

§ 8. *victos*. The Aequi again appear, 9. 45, at war with Rome (Weiss.)

ab odio. The preposition partly to reply to '*ad bellum*,' and also = *propter odium*.

§ 10. *labor* = siege, attack.

senis horis in orbem, 'taking in turn six hours each.' The same phrase occurs in 5. 19. 11, of the siege of Veii.

integro certamini = fresh combatants.

§ 11. *Publicari*, i. e. 'in publicum aerarium redigi.' *imperium*, &c., 'the order was issued too late after this resolution (had been taken).'

per invidiam, 'could not be taken from them without exciting ill-feeling.'

§ 12. *substructum*, 'foundations were laid.'

vel in hac, 'even in the present.'

Chap. 5, § 1. *frequentare*, 'to bring numbers to their harangues,' 'to make their meetings crowded.'

legibus agrariis. Instrumental ablative.

§ 2. *Pomptinus ager*. The district near the old Pometia, inundated by the rivers Amasenus and Ufens, is still called the Pontine Marsh; Juv. 3. 307.

possessionis haud ambiguae = a district their rights over which were indisputable.

§ 3. *ab nobilitate*, 'by reason of the nobles' conduct.'

§ 4. *grassari*, 'rushed violently, like robbers.' Cp. 2. 12. 15 'trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Romanae, ut in te hac via grassamur;' and Juv. 3. 305 'grassator (footpad) agit rem.'

nec, &c., 'and that there would be no room left for the plebeians unless a partition was made before they seized it all.'

§ 5. *Haud magno opere*, 'they made no particular impression on.' *eodem*, 'from the same reason.'

instruendum, 'to stock (the land).'

vires = *copiae*; 4. 6. (Weiss.)

§ 8. *duumviro*, 'commissioner' in the singular, as 'quinquevir,' 'decemvir,' though the name itself implies more than one.

novi cives; supra 4. 4.

Chap. 6, § 3. *Res . . . rediit*, 'the government again came.'

§ 4. *curae hominum*, 'general attention.'

attulit; the regular word for bringing news; supra 2. 2 'mercatores afferebant.'

§ 5. *eo abnuentes*, 'asserting that this was not action on the part of the state on the ground that.'

voluntarios. Weissenborn quotes 10. 29. 2 'vana incassum iactare tela;' 38. 16. 5 'alia rursus nova seditio.'

§ 6. *Desierant*, i. e. since the reverse occasioned by their disregard of the Gallic invasion.

quippe = *enim*, especially in *Oratio Obliqua*, as in this sentence. *collegae fateri*. Historic infinitive, as supra 'senatus agere.'

esse = *esse oportere*.

§ 7. *confusus animo*, 'deeply affected, touched.'

§ 8. *Ingens . . . magnum . . . maximum*, form the steps in his climax—'serious, important, most important of all.'

sibi with *inlunghi*.

tam honoratorum. In 27. 10. 6 '*honoratissimo decreto*' = *honorificentissimo*, 'complimentary;' and this, though very rare, might be the meaning here: otherwise = which he respected very much. Weisenborn takes it in the former way.

§ 9. *certantem secum ipsum*. Cp. Cicero to Dolabella, ad Fam. 9. 14 '*te imitere oportet, tecum ipse certes*.'

tanto . . . sit, 'this unanimous expression of feeling on the part of the community, which he valued very highly.'

§ 10. *ut . . . sit* = which . . . still.

ab invidia; supra 4. 8, &c. Here '*invidia*' and '*odio*' are almost personified by this use of the preposition.

§ 13. *intentum, sive*, 'ready for action, in the event either of a rising in Etruria, or of the Latins and Hernici, our new difficulty.' For the apposition, cp. supra 3. 2, note.

moverint, 'of hostile movement,' elliptical for '*moverint se*.' Cp. 21. 52. 4 '*modo ne quid moverent*.'

patre; cp. 4. 21. 46.

avo; 4. 3. 6; 3. 6.

§ 14. *causarius*. In medical language = sick, diseased; here of soldiers, 'invalided.' Dig. 3. 2. 2 '*quae propter valetudinem laboribus militiae solvit*.'

quaeque alia: object, 'and all else which the necessities of war demand.'

§ 15. *praesidem*, 'president;' because it was necessary that some one of the highest officials for the year should be in the senate to propose measures, &c. He is not named '*Praefectus urbi*' 4. 31. 1, but all the usual business is assigned to him; he could convoke the senate, 3. 9. 6, attend to religious ceremonies, hold the comitia, perform judicial functions, 3. 24. 2.

§ 16. *benigne*, 'loyally.'

imperii = in the field.

pro dictatore. Cp. '*proconsul*,' '*propraetor*.'

§ 17. *proinde . . . haberent*, 'therefore let them have.' Impf. subj. of *Oratio Obligua* for the imperative.

§ 18. *iuxta*, 'alike ready to obey or command;' ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀποχεῖσθαι.

conferentes in medium, 'rather sharing together their glory.'

Chap. 7, § 1. *ex nova subole* = of the younger generation.

§ 2. *restitantes*, 'loitering,' 'hesitating.' A word tolerably common in Livy.

quin, 'and further,' 'nay even.'

centenis, 'a hundred each.'

nedum, 'much less;' inverted for 'dum ne,' while not.

§ 3. *materia*. Cic. Mil. 35 'Clodium segetem ac materiam gloriae suae;' Tac. Hist. 4. 76 'Gallos quid aliud quam praedam victoribus.'

§ 4. *ut . . . taceam*, 'to say nothing of.'

modo; supra 4 and 5.

triumphum agere ex = triumphare de.

§ 5. *in vos*, 'over you.'

neque enim, 'for assuredly the dictatorship never supplied me with courage, just as even exile did not take it from me.'

§ 6. *Simul*, 'at the first charge.'

quisque, 'every man, on both sides, among you and among the enemy's ranks.'

Chap. 8, § 2. *Quod ubi*; cf. 'quod si,' but when.

ad munera corporis. Cp. Cic. de Off. 1. 123 'senibus autem labores corporis minuendi.'

pro se quisque. The repetition ('clamor, clamantes') and the phrase are used to mark the enthusiasm of the soldiery.

§ 3. *Emissum . . . ferunt*, 'it is said that the standard was thrown.'

antesignanos. These were soldiers specially told off to protect the standards, and save them from falling into the enemy's hands. Cp. 9. 39. 7 'cadunt antesignani, et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima acies.'

§ 5. *movebat* = *summovebat* hostem.

excitata, 'roused to enthusiasm.'

forte oblata, 'when it came before them.' Virg. Aen. 2. 340 'oblata per lunam.'

§ 6. *arrepto equo*; supra 1 'ex equo desilit.'

conspectu: passive = § 5 'oblata species.'

§ 7. *conficienda* with *multitudo*. 'So great a number of the enemy had to be cut down with ceaseless courage by the wearied soldiers.'

§ 8. *quietis Romanis*, 'without any action of the Romans.'

malis consiliis, 'having met with an issue as sorry as their misguided policy.'

§ 9. *quorum fiducia*, 'on whom they had trusted when they rebelled.'

§ 10. *minus . . . quam ut in eo*, 'thinking the enemy had too little courage to make it necessary, in dealing with them ('in eo'), to wait for a victory which would take long to win.'

victoriam . . . esse, 'and telling them that.'

Chap. 9, § 1. *rei maiori*, Antio; supra 3. 2, note.

proximi: just concluded, 'the late campaign.'

nisi magno. The town was built on a rock running far into the sea, 2. 63, 65.

§ 3. **credo.** Livy's own religious feelings are not often put forward in this manner. 'I suppose that the gods willed the state of Antium to stand for some time longer.'

diis cordi; infra 20. 16; 1. 39. 4.

brevem occasionem, 'a short opportunity'; i.e. saying that help must be given directly, if it is to be of use.

petentes = **petituri**, cp. 21. 6. 2.

eo, in this direction = in Etruriam.

§ 4. **opposita**, 'commanded.'

claustra, 'bulwark,' key of Etruria; repeated 9. 32. 1, speaking of this same town Sutrium.

illis, 'Etrascis.'

cura erat, 'they were anxious.'

§ 5. **cum Camillo agi**, 'overtures,' 'suggestions to be made to Camillus.'

Quinctius. L. Q. Cincinnatus, supra 3. 14, had the charge of the 'causarii milites' and 'seniores.'

§ 6. **expertum**, passive.

depoposcit, 'he insisted upon.'

§ 7. **intersaeptis** = with the roads blockaded.

§ 9. **non tanta spe**, 'not so much in the hope.'

aversis eo, 'being directed to that quarter.'

§ 11. **Furianis** = the soldiers with Camillus (M. Furius).

Chap. 10, § 2. fidemque, 'and furnish the loyal aid which they had asked from the Romans.'

§ 3. **unde** = a quibus.

nihil suae, 'that nothing was in their own control.'

terror est admotus, 'an attempt was made to frighten.'

§ 4. **postquam erat**, 'finding that the observance of their surrender was more sacred to them than their alliance.'

§ 5. **auctores**, 'ring-leaders.'

securi percussi, 'beheaded,' 'executed.'

multitudini, 'populace,' 'inhabitants.' Cp. 29. 1 'Inter haec iam praemissi Albani erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam.'

cum praesidio, like the Greek $\epsilon\chi\alpha\nu$ = ita ut praesidium haberet (Weissenborn).

§ 6. **res repetitae**, 'satisfaction,' 'restitution was demanded.'

ex instituto, 'according to arrangement,' 'according to law.'

§ 7. **frequenti concilio**, 'by a largely attended gathering.'

apud Volscos, supra 7. 1.

§ 8. **pravi consilii**, 'misguided conduct;' cp. supra 8. 8 'malis consilii pares adepti eventus.'

quam pestem . . . nequisse, 'a curse which clung to them and could not be got rid of by all the wars (that had been waged) one after the other.' Compare our 'a thorn in the side.' The accusative and infinitive of *Oratio Obliqua* because 'quam' = *et* (*dixerunt*) *eam*.

§ 9. **magis tempus**, &c., 'when this was laid before the senate, it seemed to furnish good grounds, but not a good opportunity for war.' Weissenborn explains '*causam quidem belli habere visa sunt, sed non tempus belli esse*.'

Chap. 11, § 1. **seditio**, 'treason.'

§ 2. **unds**, &c., 'from a source from which it would never have been feared.'

inolitae; cp. Greek *κλύω, κλυτός*, Latin '*clueo*.'

Capitolino; 5. 47.

§ 3. **nimius animi**. 'Nimius' is also used with genitive in 3. 26. 12 '*imperi nimium virum*'; Tac. Hist. 3. 75 '*sermonis nimius erat*.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 61 '*fidens animi*.'

sperneret . . . invideret. Note the asyndeton, 'despised and envied.'

§ 4. **habeat pro**, 'treat as.' The presents and perfects of the subjunctive, as before noted, are characteristic of Livy's style.

quum interim = and that too when.

recuperari patria. So Cicero says that Pompey thanked him for saving the city from the Catiline conspiracy, saying that he owed to him the fact that there was a Rome standing in which he could celebrate his triumph.

§ 5. **solutis in spem**, 'enervated by the hope of peace.' 44. 25. 10 '*malebat in spem Romanae pacis non recusare impensam*.'

illius . . . virilis, 'the lion's share of Camillus' glory belonged to.'

apud = *penes*, Sall. Cat. 20. 8 '*divitiae apud illos sunt*.'

§ 6. **ad hoc**, 'further.'

vitio ingenii, 'by a weakness of character.'

impotens, 'violent,' 'excitable.'

§ 7. **primus omnium**, 'the very first patrician who had espoused the popular cause.' 4. 13, Sp. Maelius was '*ex equestri ordine*.'

popularis almost corresponds to our 'democratic:' in this sense Marius and Caesar were '*populares*.' Cicero ably distinguishes this party from the optimates, and defines both, Pro Sest. 45. 96, '*Duo genera in hac civitate semper fuerunt . . . alteri se populares, alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea, quae faciebant, multitudini iucunda esse volebant, populares habebantur*.'

aura. Virg. Aen. 6. 817 '*Ancus . . . nimium gaudens popularibus auris*.'

22. 26. 4 '*aura favoris popularis*.'

§ 8. **fidem moliri**, 'to tamper with credit.'

quippe, 'for he knew that.'

qui minentur, 'seeing that they threaten,' 'threatening as they do.'

nervo; infra 15. 9 'eximendo de nervo cives vestros.' Weissenborn quotes Festus, p. 165 'nervum appellamus ferreum vinculum quo pedes impediuntur,' and the law of the Twelve Tables 'aeris confessi . . . iudicatis xxx dies iusti sunt, post deinde manus iniectio esto, in ius ducto . . . vincito aut nervo aut compedibus, quindecim pondo ne minore aut si volet maiore, vincito.'

§ 9. re damnosissima, 'brought about by an undertaking, that is in building, which is most ruinous even to the rich.'

contracta with vis, Cic. ad Q. Fratr. i. i. 8 'aes alienum contrahere.'

in speciem causae, 'was put forward by way of pretext.'

maior potestas, i.e. 'dictatura.'

§ 10. nova, 'revolutionary.'

magis, 'more than the war,' &c.

Chap. 12, § 1. ad bellum, with 'opus erat,' prompt action was necessary to meet the war.

dictaturae ipsi, 'even to the dictatorship.'

§ 2. non dubito, &c. Livy's own criticism is valuable, especially as he rarely digresses for this purpose. In his Preface he shows himself keenly alive to the fact that the early history is not so likely to attract his readers as that part which dealt with the later days of the Republic. The enumeration of wars, constantly recurring and apparently never ended, is apt to become monotonous even in the hands of so skilful a writer; and the wonder is that he is able to vary the picture so graphically in spite of constant repetition.

tot iam libris, 'in all these books.'

legentibus, dative, 'to those who read.'

perconsenti, 'as I examined the writers who were more nearly contemporaneous with the events.' The chief authorities followed by Livy are given in the Introduction.

§ 3. tacitum, 'in silence,' 'uncriticised.'

ouiis . . . sim, 'what can I adduce except a suggestion, such as all who conjecture are free to make for themselves.'

§ 4. nunc = hodie, 'in our own times.'

alia atque alia, 'successive generations as they sprang up.'

populis . . . gens; cp. 4. 49. 3 'suae gentis populo:' ib. 56. 5 'utriusque gentis populos.' (Weissenborn.)

§ 5. locis quae, 'in those districts which in our own time our slaves only save from being a desert, where scarcely a miserable recruiting ground for soldiers remains.' The system of buying up small properties, and combining them into large estates worked by slave gangs, ruined the peasant proprietors of Italy. Tib. Gracchus endeavoured to

break up this system and re-establish the yeomen through the country; but his efforts were unsuccessful.

servitia: used both in singular and plural = *servi*.

§ 6. **quod . . . conveniat**, 'as is agreed.'

accisae; supra 2. 3, and 5. 2 'post accisae a Camillo Volscorum res.'

Velitrae; 2. 31. 4 'Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus: Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta;' *ibid.* 34. 6 'Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani.'

§ 7. **adorare**. Usually with accusative of the person addressed; 38. 43 'quos adorent, ad quos precentur et supplicent.'

§ 8. **pilis**. The 'pilum' was the heavy javelin of the Roman infantry with which they usually began an action; 9. 19. 7 'pilum haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum.'

velim, 'I would not have you.'

obnixos, 'steady,' 'resolute.'

§ 9. **micent**: of swords, 5. 6; of javelins, &c. 21. 7. 8.

secundis avibus; supra § 7 'auspicato.'

miserint, 'vos,' or 'Romanum.'

§ 10. **intentus ad**, 'watching for the first sign of the beginning of the battle.'

collato pede, 'at close quarters;' cp. 'collatis signis.'

terrorem equestrem, 'charge with your cavalry and affright them while engaged in the struggle with the infantry.'

Chap. 13, § 1. nulli rei. Livy is apparently the only writer who uses the dative after 'fretus;' *infra* 31. 6 'discordiae hostium fretus.'

temere, 'in disorder.'

§ 2. **collatum pedem**: *infra* 12. 10; Virg. Aen. 10. 361 'haeret pede pes, densusque viro vir' (Weiss.).

§ 3. **frons prima**: 'antesignani,' 8. 8. 6 (Weiss.).

suum = their usual, their natural dismay.

fluctuanti; sc. 'aciei,' 'agmini.'

perventuram. Compare the battle of Zama, 30. 34 'adeo non sustinebant [auxiliares cedentes] ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertinaciter primos caedendo ad se perveniret hostis, pedem referrent.'

§ 4. **donec**; with *impf.* 'so long as.'

peditum labor, 'the task of pursuing them fell on the infantry.'

in singulorum, 'by stopping to cut down individuals.'

multitudini, 'the main body.'

§ 5. **satis esse**. Part of the dictator's order to the soldiers, the infinitive being that of *Oratio Obligua*.

iusta caede, 'and completely cut them to pieces.' Cp. 'iustum proelium,' 'iusta victoria.'

§ 7. **ut credi** = in which case (had they all been 'de plebe') it might have been believed that they were hired to fight.

principes iuventutis; 2. 20. 11.

manifesta fides, 'an indisputable proof.' For the apposition see on 3. 2 *supra*. Virgil takes the same phrase, *Aen.* 2. 309, 'Tum vero manifesta fides' = the truth is evident; and cp. 21. 13. 3.

§ 8. *cogniti* = *agniti*. Weissenborn explains, 'known for what they really were,' *infra* 25. 1.

haud perplexe, 'stated to the *patres* without disguise what they had told to the dictator, each the revolt of his own nation.'

populi: colonies of '*cives*' are called '*populus*.' Weissenborn quotes Servius, '*colonia est pars civium aut sociorum missa, ubi rem publicam habeant*.'

Chap. 14, § 1. *dubius*. Usually with '*quin*' or a relative clause following; the accusative and infinitive is rare.

moles, 'trouble,' 'disturbance.'

solito magis metuendam, 'more formidable than usual' ('*solum*,' subst.), i.e. than when tribunes raised agitations.

§ 2. *in speciem*, 'apparently, but at the same time revolutionary, to one who considered the intention with which they were done.'

§ 3. *Centurionem*. Cp. 2. 23. 4, followed by the first secession of the plebs, B.C. 495-494. '*Magno natu quidam . . . ordines duxisse aiebant*.'

pecuniae. Genitive after '*iudico*,' like '*capitis damnare, iudicare*;' 26. 3. 8 '*quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset privato*.'

duoi; sc. '*in carcerem*,' '*in vincula*;' *infra* § 4.

manum iniecit. As in the formal manner of arrest, cp. 3. 44. 6 '*Virginii . . . manum iniecit*;' and of summoning a witness, *Hor. Sat.* 1. 9. 76:—

'*Licet antestari? Ego vero*

Oppono auriculum.'

The '*addictus*,' being a slave, could only be released by a '*civis*' becoming his '*vindex*.'

§ 5. *rem*, 'the debt.'

palam; with ablative like '*coram*.'

libraque et aere. The solemn form of payment, as in the case of a purchase of '*res mancipi*.' The money was placed in the scales, held by a '*libripens*,' and weighed. Weissenborn quotes Gaius 3. 174 '*Adhibentur autem non minus quam quinque testes et libripens: deinde is qui liberatur ita oportet loquatur: quod ego tibi tot millibus eo nomine—debeo, solvo liberoque hoc aere aeneaque libra*.'

§ 6. *cicatrices*. Cp. 2. 23. 4 '*ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat*.'

§ 7. *multipliei iam sorte*, 'having repaid the capital (of his loan) many times over, while the interest constantly swamped the capital.'

videre; the subject is '*centurionem*.'

lucem; opposed to the 'ergastulum.'

forum, i.e. his rights as a citizen.

opera, 'by the service of.'

§ 8. parentium, 'all the kindnesses one receives from parents.'
quodcumque with iuris.

§ 9. unius hominis. Cp. 3. 36. 7.

alia . . . res, 'another act of this policy, over-excited and ready to upset everything.'

§ 10. caput patrimonii, 'the principal part of his property.' Cic. de Lege Agr. 1. 7. 21 'caput patrimonii publici.'

subiecit praeconi, 'placed in the hands of the auctioneer, for sale.'

addictum, 'condemned,' 'given up (as slave) to his creditor.'

§ 11. omisso, &c.; 'regardless whether his utterance were true or false.'

utrum is constantly omitted thus, especially after 'incertus:' cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 390:—

'Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?'

iecit, 'he threw out,' 'he hinted.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 98:—

'Spargere voces

In vulgum ambiguas.'

nisi, 'unless they also appropriate.'

§ 12. videri: historic infinitive for indicative.

conferendum: absol. Cp. 5. 25. 5 'collationem.' (Weiss.)

cessisse in, 'had been turned to.' Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 1 'Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere.'

§ 13. exsequebantur, 'they followed it up with the inquiry.'

nec veri indicii, 'it was obvious that their gratitude, if his revelation proved true, would not be slight, or their disgust if it were false.' Supply 'mediam' to 'offensionem.'

Chap. 15, § 1. discedere; i.e. had insisted that they should accompany him.

§ 2. ea multitudine, i.e. 'senatu.'

viatorem. The 'lictor' was the proper attendant of the consuls; 'viator' is a summoning officer employed by any official: cp. 2. 56. 13 'tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum.'

§ 4. conveniat; impersonal, 'I wish there were such agreement.'

§ 5. fide incolumi, 'without shaking credit.'

occultent: subj. = which you say they conceal.

tantum abest ut . . . ut, 'so far am I from hindering, that . . .'

adhorter (supply 'ut') liberares: 'I urge you to release.'

incubantes, 'jealously guarding.' Petronius has a word 'incūbo' (subst.) = a spirit that watches over buried treasures. Virg. Georg. 2. 507 'defossoque incubat auro;' Aen. 6. 610 'divitiis incubere reptis.'

clandestinus. Corssen derives it from 'clam-dies-tinus,' comparing 'matutinus.'

§ 6. **vanum,** 'false,' 'groundless.'

§ 7. **neo se fefellisse,** 'that he had been well aware (that the dictator had been appointed to act against himself).'

§ 8. **patrocinium;** 'patrocinor,' 'patronus,' = protection.

§ 9. **Quin diducitis,** 'why do you not take it from me?' Virg. Aen. 4. 99:—

'Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
Exercemus?'

interoscedendo: here either in its general sense = interpose, interfere: or, 'by being surety for them.'

eximendo, 'by paying their debts.'

nervo: supra 11. 8.

sustinendo, 'by ministering to the wants of others from your own superfluity of wealth.'

§ 10. **impendatis:** after 'hortor,' 'why do I urge you to spend your own money? Take the principal still left: subtract from the original loan the amount already paid in interest: the crowd that follows me will not be more conspicuous than that of any other man.'

§ 11. **At enim,** 'yes, but you ask.'

nihilo, 'in no way have I anything more.'

§ 12. **ponatis,** 'give it up;' infra § 13 'in medium proferatis.'

§ 13. **Quo magis,** 'the more you order your tricks to be proved.'

non ego vobis, 'I am not to be forced by you to reveal your plunder, but you must be compelled to produce it: 'in medium proferre,' as 'in medium conferre.'

Chap. 16, § 1. cogeret, 'insisted.'

insimulati, 'confess his guilt in falsely accusing the senate and bringing up the odium of a theft that did not exist.'

§ 2. **ceteri.** Weissenborn quotes Servius on Virg. Georg. 1. 21 'per pontifices in omnibus sacris post speciales deos, quos ad ipsum sacrum quod fiebat necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur.' Cp. 7. 26. 4.

sicine. The demonstrative suffix *i* (cp. *ὄντοσι*) is put in for emphasis, in 'huiusmodi' we have the full form. The best editions print without doubling the *c*, after words which end in that consonant, infra 17. 3 'hocine.'

praesidem, 'protector,' 'guardian.' In imperial times = governor of a province.

§ 3. **ferebant,** 'could endure,' 'seemed likely to endure.'

sed invicta sibi, &c.; 'the people, always submissive to regular authority, had made some things inviolable for themselves' = *inviolata* (Weiss).

nec audebant. Against the dictator the tribune's 'intercessio' and the 'provocatio ad populum' were fruitless; 7. 4. 2; 8. 33. 8 (Weiss.); but see *infra* 38. 9.

hiscere, 'open their lips.' Juv. 5. 126:—

'si quid temptaveris unquam

Hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina.'

§ 4. *vestem mutasse*, the sign of mourning. So all persons accused put on 'sordida vestis,' and endeavoured by their appearance to excite the compassion of their 'iudices.'

§ 5. *triumphavit*, before his triumph the dictator had entered the city, which was never done in the time of the later Republic.

actum, 'won;' supra 7. 4 'triumphum egistis.'

unum tantum, 'the only feature.'

§ 6. *semisses*, 'a half,' 'semi-As,' the 'As' being taken as the standard in all general measures or fractional parts. Cp. 'heres ex semisse.'

§ 8. *sordibus et facie*; supra 4, 'with the pitiful garb and appearance of accused persons.'

Chap. 17, § 1. *exprobrantium*, 'of those who taunted the people.'

præcipitem locum, 'dangerous height.'

§ 2. *Sp. Cassius*; 2. 41.

Sp. Maelius; 4. 13-16.

§ 3. *Saginare*. *Oratio Obliqua* after 'exprobrantium,' 'that the plebs fattened their champions.' The word is used of animals and of gladiators, cp. Cic. *Sest.* 36. 78; *Aristoph. Eq.* 1127:—

κλέπτοντά τε βούλομαι
τρέφειν ἕνα προστάτην
τοῦτον δ', ὅταν ᾗ πλέως,
ἄρας ἐπάρατα.

ad nutum . . . *responderit*, 'comply with the bidding.'

vir consularis, 'an ex-consul;' 5. 47. 4 'qui triennio ante consul fuerat.'

Fingerent, '(let them) grant,' 'suppose.'

§ 4. *Non obversatam*. Question, of 3rd person, therefore infinitive, 'Had not the recollection . . . occurred to them?'

§ 5. *Sellibrisme farris*; 5. 47. 8 'cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius contulerunt.'

pati. The question would strictly be 'paterentur,' the infinitive is interjectional, 'to think that they allowed.'

ducere animam; so 'ducere vitam,' 'spiritum' are used: 'to live in hourly danger of the executioner's caprice.'

adeo=could it be true that . . . ?

§ 6. *remisso*: the subject 'eo' is omitted, as often; 'that, which they meant to take, was conceded.'

§ 7. **simul.** Frequently thus used by the poets and Tacitus.
purgantibus, 'offering to excuse.'
tristia, 'stern.'

§ 8. **in quo . . . tamen.** Cp. 2. 52. 5 'in multa temperare,' 'wherein they, in spite of all, kept their hands from allies;' 'they controlled themselves.'

facesseret propere, 'make all haste to depart.' Cp. the language of the Veientians to the Roman envoys, 4. 58. 7.

externo, non oivi. The 'civis' at war would be a rebel, and not entitled to the rights of a 'iustus hostis.'

Chap. 18, § 1. Recrudescente. For a similar metaphor, cp. 10. 19. 20 'paulisper recruduit pugna.'

sub exitum. The Ides (13th) of December being the 'sollemnis ineundis magistratibus dies' 4. 9. 3.

§ 2. **expugnare**; 9. 26. 15 'expugnare quaestiones' (Weiss.).

§ 3. **aliquanto acrior**, 'with much more vigour;' infra 'plenior aliquanto.'

§ 4. **neo . . . et; μὲν . . . δέ**, 'on the one hand (the dictator had not dared) . . . while on the other,' &c.

§ 5. **Quousque tandem.** The opening of the first Oratio in Catinam is parallel.

voluit, 'had decreed.'

beluas. Properly of beasts distinguished for size, ferocity, &c. As distinguishing men from other animals, cp. Cic. 1. 30. 105 'quantum natura hominis pecudibus ceterisque beluis antecedit.'

§ 6. **Si singuli**, i.e. if your numbers were not greater than theirs.

quoteni: distributive; 'as many as you have been, each as dependant waiting on his individual patron:' 'quot enim' (Weiss.). The relations of patron and client were protected by the Twelve Tables: 'Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit sacer esto.'

§ 7. **remittent**: as in 'reddere,' the prefix implies 'giving what is due,' not necessarily 'giving back.'

§ 8. **Ipsae**, &c.; 'I, your champion, was in a moment undone, as soon as my enemies so pleased.' Cp. Plaut. Cas. 2. 4. 26 'si id factum est, ecce me nullum senem.'

§ 9. **Bene facitis**, &c.: implying expressions of dissent on the part of his audience. Cp. Cic. Phil. 6. 12 'Negatis? . . . rursum reclamatis? . . . clamori enim vestro assentior.'

abominamini = express your horror.

dent: subj. after 'oportet,' omitting 'ut.'

mentem = the resolution, determination.

§ 10. **auxilium . . . satis**: that to be helped . . . is enough, i.e. 'that you are satisfied with always requiring help.'

usu possidemini = you are the slaves of habit.

§ 11. *imperare illis aequum*. Cp. Preface 7 'tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium patiuntur.'
hos, 'patres.'

§ 13. *qui imperet* = a ruler.

qui resisterent, i.e. tribunes of the plebs, first elected B.C. 494 after the first secession, 2. 33. 1.

§ 14. *patronum . . . plebis*. Cic. Phil. 6. 12 'xxxv tribus patrono. Populi Romani igitur est patronus L. Antonius.' Aurelius Victor says that Manlius was called 'patronus' after he saved the Capitol; Livy does not mention it, 5. 47 (Weiss.).

§ 15. *utemini*, 'employ,' 'find.'

§ 16. *agendi de*, 'aiming at.'

Chap. 19, § 1. *secessio*. The first secession was in 494 B.C., 2. 32; the second in 449 B.C., 3. 50 seq., after the 'decemvirate.'

in arce positam. Compare the 'invidia' against the consul Valerius (2. 7. 5, &c.), 'quia aedificabat in summa Velia;' and 3. 15 seq.

libertati: dative after 'imminenti,' 'the danger that threatened freedom.'

§ 2. *Servilius Ahala*; 4. 14. 6 'Haec eum (Sp. Maelium) vociferantem assecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat,' B.C. 439.

§ 3. *ut videant*, &c. The well-known formula ('quae forma senatus consulti ultimae semper necessitatis habita est' 3. 4. 9) by which the magistrates were entrusted with indefinite power to suppress insurrection, &c. as they thought fit. Cp. Cic. Cat. 1. 2 and references.

§ 4. *plebi*. The genitive is indifferently written 'plebis,' 'plebi,' and 'plebei.'

§ 5. *ingentis . . . fore*, 'would cause, result in, a fearful struggle.'

§ 6. *Quid*, &c.; 'Why do we make that, which ought to be a struggle of the community against, &c. . . ., a struggle between patrician and plebeian?'

suis ipse . . . ruat. Cp. Preface 4 'iam magnitudine laboret sua . . . praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt;' and Hor. Epod. 16. 2: 'Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.'

§ 7. *regnum*. Cp. 2. 2. 4 'iusiurandum populi recitat, neminem regnare passuros.' Cic. Rep. 2. 30. 53 'pulso Tarquinio nomen regis audire non poterat populus Romanus.' So the emperors never assumed the title of king.

ex advocatis, 'instead of supporters have become judges.' Cp. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 454 τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδωρκύτος. de in the next line = ex; cp. Juv. 7. 197:—

'Si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;

Si volet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor.'

The same collocation of 'ex' and 'de' occurs in Pliny, Ep. 4. 11.

patrioium, 'they will see that the prosecutors are the plebs and the accused is a patrician, and that the charge of (aiming at) kingship is before them.'

accusatores; object. to 'intuebuntur' (Weiss.).

nulli, 'no man (in preference to).' Livy and Caesar commonly use the dative of 'nullus' as substantive. Cicero almost always has 'nemini' (Weiss.).

Chap. 20, § 1. sordidatum; supra 16. 4. 8.

§ 2. **cognatos**, relatives connected by ties of blood.

affines, relatives by marriage: as defined in the Digest—socer, socrus, gener, nurus, noverca, &c.

quod: explained by 'ut . . . mutarent,' a thing which had never been customary, that even one's nearest kin should not go into mourning.

§ 3. **C. Claudium**; 3. 58 'C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirosum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus . . . sordidatus prensabat singulos,' &c.

opprimi, 'while now (they said) a friend of the people was being suppressed.'

§ 5. **neo dubito**, 'still, I am sure that they were convincing.'

loco; infra 10, they were in the Campus Martius, from which the Capitoline Hill was visible.

quae et quanta, 'how the greatest distinctions.'

§ 6. **expensas . . . tulisset**. Literally, he had put down (to their accounts) moneys expended, 'to whom he had granted loans.'

venire, from 'veneo.'

§ 7. **ad xxx**, 'to the number of . . .'

murales, civicas coronas. The mural crown was given to the soldier who first scaled the walls of an enemy's city, 23. 18; the civic crown to one who saved the life of a 'civis' in battle (Orelli, Excursus 8 to Pro Plancio 25), and who killed the enemy at the same time.

§ 8. **pro fastigio rerum**, 'by way of climax.'

aequando, 'in language as brilliant as his deeds.' The gerund is frequently thus used, where the Greek would put a participle agreeing with the subject.

§ 10. **centuriatim**; cp. 5. 1. 1, and 52. 16. The sentence of death could only be passed by the 'comitia centuriata.'

§ 11. **prodicta**, 'postponed.'

The Porta Flumentana, as its name implies, led to the Tiber, on the south side of the Capitol. The Via Aurelia led direct by this gate to the Janiculum.

obstinatis animis, 'with unflinching, stern resolution.'

§ 12. **perduellione**; 1. 26. 5, the appointment of 'duumviri qui

perduellionem iudicent' is as old as the tale of the Horatii. The Digest explains it, 'qui perduellionis reus est, hostili animo adversus rempublicam vel principem animatus est.' So Clodius accused Cicero, 'actione perduellionis,' Pro Mil. 14. 36. Cp. Livy 26. 3 'Sempronius perduellionis Cn. Fulvio se iudicare dixit,' because Fulvius had allowed himself to be defeated.

auctores sint, 'some who state that he was condemned.' The 'Tarpeia rupes' was a rock on the Capitoline.
ultimae, 'of death.'

§ 13. notae: after the analogy of the 'nota censoria,' the mark affixed by the censors to a name when they revised the lists of citizens.

officina Monetae = the Mint. 'Moneta' was a surname of Juno, in whose temple money was coined, 7. 28. 4. Cic. de Dom. 38. 101 has a different account, 'Ergo eius (Manlii) domum eversam duobus lucis convestitam videtis;' Ov. Fast. 6. 184.

§ 14. gentilicia, 'inflicted by the gens of the Manlii.'

cautum est, 'provision was made.'

vir . . . nisi, &c.; cp. Tac. Hist. 1. 49 'omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,' of Galba.

§ 15. ipsas virtutes, 'only, even, his good qualities.'

occurrentibus, 'obvious.'

magnae parti, 'to most people.'

Chap. 21, § 1. Pestilentiam, 'famine followed on ('exceptit') the plague, and several wars combined followed the report of famine and plague which had been circulated.'

§ 2. velut sorte quadam. Compare the remarks supra 12. 2 seq.

exerendo; 21 'Sardos, etc. . . lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma;' and 39. 1. 2 'hostis velut natus ad continendam Romanis militarem disciplinam.'

Lanuvinum . . . quae urbs: supra 3. 2 reff.

§ 4. Nepete, 'to Nepete,' accusative.

§ 5. iuberent: as in the phrase 'populus iussit; patres auctores fuit' 1. 17. 9. Weissenborn calls it a rare sense-construction, quoting Ov. Fast. 11. 505 'placent pia turba Quirinum.'

§ 6. eo inclinabat ut, 'supported the policy of sending . . .'

supplex, 'to offer submission.'

§ 7. ab Romanis with defectionis.

piacula, 'victims,' 'peace offerings.'

§ 8. in senatu, i.e. of the colonies, Velitrae and Circeii; cp. 8. 14. 5; 9. 16. 5.

§ 9. minus credi, 'it was obvious that they were only disinclined to believe, &c., because they wished them to be untrue.'

Chap. 22, § 1. et si qui. For the same kind of ellipse, cp. 5. 1. 9

'auxiliis, si qua forte inde venirent.' Here = to meet any fresh risings that might be reported from Etruria.

§ 2. *ipsum* = *ipsorum*.

secundo . . . *ita ut*; we should say, 'with success so signal that . . .'

§ 3. *nuntiis* = news.

acriores in, 'more severely denouncing.'

§ 4. *iussu*; supra 21. 3. 5.

§ 6. For this L. Furius, see the next two chapters.

extra ordinem = with special powers.

e re publica, 'in accordance with the interests of the country.'

et publice, 'both in his official capacity.'

gratiam eius, i.e. L. Furii.

§ 7. *exactae aetatis*: he died 16 years later, 7. 1. 8.

omnitiis, 'at the election, the unanimous wish of the people stopped him when ready to take the usual oath to plead ill-health.' Cp.

22. 40. 6 'Atilium aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt;' 9. 46. 2;

26. 22. 5.

vegetum. Cp. Greek *βῆτης*, 'vigeo,' 'augeo.' The alliteration with the letter *v* is common; cp. Lucretius 5. 991:—

'Viva videns vivo sepeliri viscera busto.'

Virg. Aen. 6. 833:—

'Neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris.'

§ 8. *quaternum* = quaternorum, 4000 each.

indicto ad, 'ordered (to be present) at.'

§ 9. *nihil dilaturi quin*, 'perfectly ready to risk a decisive engagement.'

ita = *adeo*, 'to such an extent.'

hostium, i.e. the Romans.

unici, 'pre-eminent.'

Chap. 23, § 1. *altero*; L. Furius.

fortunam, 'hazard.'

ratione, 'by strategy.'

§ 2. *vallo prope*, 'marching almost close to the enemy's entrenchments.'

§ 3. *ferox*, 'impetuous.'

ex incertissimo, 'on-grounds utterly baseless.'

§ 4. *elevando* . . . *aetate*, 'disparaging on the score of age,'

3. 21. 4.

§ 5. *cunctatorem*. This epithet, applied to Q. Fabius Maximus, became a term of honour to him. The line from Ennius, quoted by Cicero and used by Virgil, is well known:—

'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.'

residem, 'inactive.' Virg. Aen. 7. 693:—

'resides populos desuetaque bello

Agmina ;

ibid. 6. 813.

quid . . . sperantem ? 'and what addition did he hope would be made to his own strength or diminution from the enemy's ?'

§ 8. *averterat* ; from *Camillus*, 'had won over.'

sustinere impetum, 'resist the enthusiasm.'

unus omnibus, 'you are alone ; give way to (the wish of) all.'

For the same collocation, Virg. Aen. 3. 716 :

'*intentis omnibus unus*

Fata renarrabat divom.'

§ 9. *praestantem*, 'superior ;' supra 22. 9 '*numero, quo praestabant*.'

§ 10. *collegae imperium*, 'however, he could not,' &c.

quod duceret, '(let him do) that which he thought.'

§ 11. *id*, like '*illud*,' frequently, referring to what follows ; 'this only.'

§ 12. *piae*, 'dutiful.' The prayer was '*pius*' because of its respect to the gods, and also because it was devoted to secure the true interest of the country, 'patriotic.' '*Pius*' is thus used of the relations of men to gods, to country, to parents ; and conversely, of gods to men, parents to children.

Chap. 24, § 1. *dolo*, 'by a feint.'

§ 3. *sequendo pertractus*, 'lured, as they pursued the enemy, to this uneven ground ('*Lenis ab tergo clivus*' supra 2) was exposed to (a good mark for) this sortie.'

supina valle, 'because of the new enemy and the descent into the valley.' Virg. Georg. 2. 276 '*collisque supinos*,' and the same phrase 4. 46. 5 '*per supinam vallem fusi*.'

§ 4. *non recipiebat se*, 'was not simply retiring.'

ferociae, 'impetuosity,' 'enthusiasm ;' '*impetus militum*' 23. 8.

§ 5. *subiectus*, 'lifted into his saddle by those around him ;' 31. 37. 10 '*eques pavidum regem in equum subiecit*.'

illa . . . haec, 'the rashness *then* was your own—so is this cowardice *now*.'

§ 7. *tenuit effusos*, 'stopped their rush.'

circumagi signa, 'the standards face about.'

praeterquam quod: rarely, as here, without a finite verb (Weiss).

plurimus labor. Tac. Ann. 1. 65 '*plurimus circa aquilas labor*.'

Cp. *πόνο*s of battles in Homer.

singuli . . . quisque ; the repetition is for effect, 'each and every,' 'one and all.'

§ 8. *rei*, 'the emergency.'

ad quam rem, 'his participation in the error had taken away his right to do this.'

totus. Cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 9. 2 :—

‘Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.’

reum, ‘responsible for the mishap of that day.’ The genitive also goes with ‘crimine:’ we might say, ‘rescue him from the charge of responsibility for,’ &c.

§ 9. **in utraque**, ‘whether you win or lose.’

§ 10. **in fluctuantem aciem**, ‘best for the wavering army,’ Weissenborn, who compares 37. 15. 7 ‘in duas res id usui fore;’ 34. 6. 6 ‘alia in secundam, alia in adversam tempestatem usui sunt.’

tradi. Madvig (Emendationes) suggests ‘optimum visum est . . . non tradi equos.’ The passage seems to imply that the cavalry were to dismount, and advance on foot: the following sentence shows that they went to help the infantry when the latter were in difficulties. **tradi** = handed to their servants.

nihil . . . animi, ‘the courage of neither generals nor soldiers fell short of a supreme effort.’

§ 11. **sensit**, ‘so the issue felt the support of vigorous bravery.’ Cp. 42. 3 ‘faciebat enixo studio.’

Chap. 25, § 1. ubi quum = et quum ibi.

Tusculani. Events are leading up to the great Latin War. Unfortunately, Livy has nothing but facts to supply; he does not furnish the causes which must have been at work to produce this general discontent. Already Velitrae, Circeii, Lanuvium, Praeneste have been mentioned as in revolt or suspected; and supra 21. 9, the Tusculani are mentioned as informing against the Praenestini. Conjecture is of course futile; but we may be allowed to infer from the later policy of Rome that commercial disabilities had something to do with the present dissatisfaction among the Latins.

secreti, participle, ‘separated from the others.’

fassi, ‘fateor,’ admitted.

§ 2. **metu** = periculo.

si videatur, ἐάν δοκῇ.

§ 3. **neo tamen**, ‘still neither L. Furius nor any one in the army believed that Camillus would really forgive his blunder.’

satis, we should say ‘*completely* appeased feelings,’ infra 5, 6.

dاتا esset, as in ‘pessumdo,’ ‘dare’ here retains its apparently fundamental sense of place; ‘con-do,’ ‘abdo,’ ‘edo.’ Cp. Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 116 ‘qui dederit damnum aut malum,’ and ‘terga dare.’

in tam praecipiti; cp. 42. 50. 2 ‘in aleam tanti casus se daret’ (Weiss.).

§ 4. **constans fama**, ‘uncontradicted (harmonious) report,’ i.e. fixed belief of all.

§ 5. **unum**, ‘only one.’

permisso, ‘leave being given.’ The participle is not infrequently

thus used impersonally, or with its substantive suppressed. Cp. Tac. Ann. i. 35 'addito acutior esse;' and for an adjective similarly used, ibid. 6 'iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret.' Livy 10. 36. 6 'edicto;' 9. 16. 5 'impetrato.'

§ 6. *moderatione animi*: 'animi' is often thus added in Latin, where the English uses the abstract term only. The names of many qualities were hardly fixed in the Latin language until Cicero gained currency for them by his philosophical writings.

pace constanti = by a persistent peaceful attitude.

§ 7. *togati*, i.e. in the dress worn in time of peace, not in the military 'sagum.'

§ 8. *eademne* after *scire cupiens*. *ne* = *utrum*.

§ 9. *opifices*, in manual labour, the 'artes sordidae,' βάνανσοι τέχνηαι; 'artifex,' of the liberal arts.

ludos litterarum; cf. Gk. σχολή, σχολάζω. 3. 44. 6 'ibi namque (in foro) in tabernis litterarum ludi erant.'

repletas with *puerorum*, as 'plenus.'

suorum usuum causae, 'the inducements of their own wants,' 'the calls of their occupations.'

§ 11. *adeo*, 'so astounding was it that.'

Chap. 26, § 1. *patientia*, 'submissiveness,' 'willingness to suffer.'

vestra = *vestras res*.

§ 2. *praecipiam*, 'anticipate,' 'seize for myself the favour of leniency which the government will show.'

habueritis, lit. you shall have had, you may take.

precibus = petition.

quem videbitur, 'quem dare senatui aequum videbitur;' impersonal, cp. 33. 26. 3 'legiones quas videretur uti darent.'

§ 3. *iam tum*, 'even at the outset.'

§ 4. *Quibus*, 'We against whom.'

ita armati, i.e. unarmed.

§ 5. *nisi si quando*, 'unless at any time.'

fecerunt, sc. quidquam hostile.

§ 6. *praestitimus*, 'guaranteed,' 'maintained.'

eo, sicubi est = to any place where war existed. *si-cubi* = if anywhere; for the form 'cubi,' cp. 'si-cunde' = si-unde; and the relatives qui, quum, &c.; Gk. Aeol. κοῦ, κότε.

polleo; said to be derived from 'potis-valeo.'

di . . . faciant: supply 'ut sit'; 'May Heaven grant that it be fortunate as it is good!'

§ 7. *revicta rebus*, 'the evidence of facts' (lit. things conquered by facts).

Peccatur = it will not matter if errors are committed against you.

dum digni, 'provided you deserve to be appeased in this manner.'

nobis with tutum.

§ 8. *pacem*, through the senate.

civitatem; 33. 6 'non in societatem modo Romanam sed etiam in civitatem se dedissent.' Livy seems to be thinking of full citizen's rights, although it is impossible that '*civitas*' could have had the same meaning at this time as it had later: it compelled the new citizens to give up their connection with the Latin alliance, to surrender their communal independence, and to submit to Roman government; and being thus oppressive, it is no wonder that (8. 7. 2) the Tuscans renounced this position after a time (Weiss.).

Chap. 27. § 1. *patientia*, 'long suffering,' 'gentleness.'

§ 3. *eguit*, 'was in need of.'

incertam famam, 'the vague reports of the general indebtedness.'

aggravo. The word is not found before Livy, and was perhaps invented by him (Dict. Lewis and Short) = exaggerating.

elevantur, 'depreciated'; supra 23. 4 '*elevando auctoritatem collegae*.'

quibus fide, 'whose interest it was that loans should seem to be in danger more from want of honour than of means in the debtors.'

creditum = money lent, loans.

fide, 'quod fidem fallere cupiebant.' Weissenborn adds '*res pro rei defectu*'; 11. 19. 6 '*viribus gravior*.'

§ 4. *suffici*, to elect into the place of a dead official or of one who has resigned.

religio erat, 'there were conscientious feelings against.' Cp. 5. 40. 8 '*ubi nunc desui religio est*,' and infra, § 5.

§ 5. *vizio creati*, 'informally appointed'; 5. 17. 2 '*magistratus vizio creatos*.'

velut diis, 'as though the gods.' '*tanquam*' and '*ut*' are also thus used with ablatives absolute, adjectives, &c.

§ 6. *testes tabulas*: apposition, 'the evidence of the accounts furnished to the state of each man's income;' i.e. the public authorised lists of each citizen's property, which, if regularly drawn up, would prove how much a *faenerator* had lent, &c. The accounts were drawn up by the censors (Weiss.).

partem a parte, 'one half by the other.'

quum interim, 'and all the while.'

§ 7. *ubi aliquando*, 'where from time to time they might hear the words of the tribune discussing the question of reducing the rate of interest.'

§ 8. *patrum libertatis*; e.g. in the time of the first secession, 2. 23 seq., 32, 33.

addici, 'to be surrendered (to his creditor).'

inita ratione, 'some method set on foot.'

supersit. Supply 'utrum.'

nervo; supra 11. 8, 15. 9.

§ 9. **merces seditionis.** Cp. 4. 2. 4 'donec, quam felices seditiones, tam honorati seditionum auctores essent.'

addicebantur, imperfect, 'were being surrendered.' The man thus adjudged a bondsman, though virtually a slave, did not in all respects occupy the position of a 'servus.' His debt could be paid, even against his creditor's will; and he thereupon recovered his full status; whereas a slave set free only became 'libertus.' It is worth noticing that a law of the Twelve Tables, passed nearly fifty years after the first secession, ordered the body of the bondsman for debt to be cut up and divided among his creditors, as Gellius 20. 1 informs us: an instance of the severity of a law defeating itself, and also remarkable as showing the extravagant lengths to which class legislation can be carried, particularly in a country incessantly engaged in war.

§ 10. **duci,** 'in carcerem,' 'in servitutem apud dominos.'

cura creditae, &c., 'less regard for carrying out the law with respect to borrowed money.'

Chap. 28, § 1. in semet ipsos = alius in alium. Cp. 'inter se obviam ire' = to meet one another.

§ 2. **protinus,** 'continuously.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 291:—

'Protinus acrias Phaeacum abscondimus arces.'

§ 5. **Alia;** 5. 37. 7.

fatalem: cf. 'contactum,' 'nefasta,' infra and 5. 19. 1 (Weiss.).

§ 6. **similem** . . . **ac fuerit,** 'the same as occurred.'

diem contactum, 'feared the day as defiled, and paid solemn observance to it.'

truces sonumque vocis; 5. 37. 8 'truci cantu . . . horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.'

§ 7. **inanes,** 'thus meditating in fanciful thoughts on fanciful things (influences).'

volventes, usually with 'animo,' 'pectore,' 'secum.' (Weiss.)

ad Begillum lacum; 2. 19. 20.

obnoxia, 'submissive.' 7. 30. 2 'subiecti atque obnoxii vobis:' transferred from men to things, 'a peace by which they would be subjected to Rome.'

§ 8. **irritaturum,** 'would rouse,' sc. the Romans.

potius quam ut . . . faciat = potius quam facturum; a common construction. Cp. 4. 2 'maiores quamlibet dimicationem subituros fuisse potius, quam . . . paterentur.'

nefasta, 'unlucky,' 'inauspicious.'

§ 9. **ut pugnaverint,** 'as they fought.'

effecerint ne, 'when the result was that no one.'

Chap. 29, § 1. nec . . . dederint: (1) a prayer, 'And may the gods

not have given them ; ' neu ' would be more common, though ' nec ' is found thus ; (2) ' ut ' omitted, cp. Hor. Odes i. 9. 1 :—

' Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus.'

quod sit = quicquam quod sit, ' anything which would be of greater assistance.'

§ 2. *per vestrum numen*, ' under guise of your protection,' i.e. ' di foederis.' Virg. Aen. 2. 396 ' Vadimus immixti Danaïs haud numine nostro.'

§ 3. *postquam*, ' when now.'

praeter castra . . . *praelati* ; cp. in 5. 26 ' praelati castra ' with no preposition.

§ 4. *tumultuario*, ' hastily applied.' 5. 37. 7 ' tumultuario exercitu ' = troops hastily levied.

obsidio inferretur ; on the analogy of ' bellum, arma inferre ' (Weiss.)

§ 6. *captis*, ablative absolute, ' iis ' omitted ; supra 25. 5, note.

§ 8. *signum*, &c. A statue of Jupiter Imperator brought from Praeneste.

§ 9. *hoc dederunt ut* = granted that.

§ 10. *vicesimo* (post) *quam*.

Chap. 30, § 1. *plebeiorum*, for the first time since 5. 18, perhaps with the exception of Trebonius, supra 21 (Weiss.).

§ 3. *gratia*, ' personal influence ' (apud patres).

sine comparatione, ' without any agreement or contract,' i.e. between the ' tribuni militum ' themselves, with regard to the choice of ' provinciae ;' 3. 41. 7 ' inter se decemviri comparabant, quos ire ad bellum . . . oporteret ;' 42. 31. 1 ' ut consules inter se provincias . . . compararent sortirenturve.'

§ 4. *inexplorato*. A favourite word with Livy, used as adverb.

velut circumventis, ' supposed to be surrounded.'

qui . . . hostis Latinus, ' who really a Latin and an enemy had deceived them under the guise of a Roman soldier.'

§ 5. *caedunt* ; cp. Virg. Aen. 10. 756 ' caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant.'

§ 6. *utrobique*, ' both in the battle and at the camp.'

quoquid superfuit, &c. Cp. 5. 40. 1 ' commendantes virtutem eorum iuventaeque urbis . . . quaecunque reliqua esset fortuna.' The simplest way is to take ' fortunae ' as the genitive.

§ 7. *apparuit*, ' it was manifest.' Usually a stronger word than ' videri.' For the tenses, see 2. 7. 3.

tempore, ' opportunity.'

inde, from that quarter.

quantum a Volscis, i.e. ' esse poterat ' (Weiss.).

§ 9. *adscripti* ; i.e. entered on the list for the colony ; *deducti*, of colonists actually taken there.

- tribuni militum ex plebe, the plebeian 'tribuni militum,' cp. 5. 32. 6 'M. Caedicius de plebe.'
- gratia maiestasque, 'the influence of their exalted position.'
- Chap. 31, § 1. *seditio*, as frequently = agitation.
- § 2. *noscendi*, 'to investigate this.'
- ne rem agerent*, 'from conducting the inquiry.'
- § 3. *passim*; formed from past participle of 'pando,' 'passus,' spread about.
- § 4. *tantum afit ut . . . ut*, 'so far from . . . that.'
- ius . . . diceretur*, 'no trial should take place,' 'no sentence be passed.' Weissenborn reads 'diceret,' remarking on the harsh use of 'quis' as subject to both.
- § 5. *laxamento*, 'respite.' Chiefly found in Livy.
- dextrorsus* = dextro-versus.
- § 6. *illi vagae*, 'the desultory forays.'
- discordiae fretus*, dative; supra 12. 11 'nulli rei freta.'
- iusto exercitu iusta ira*, 'by a regular army lawfully retaliating.'
- § 7. *Quippe* = for, indeed.
- extrema finium*: infra 32. 5 'subita belli;' ibid. 11 'extrema agminis.'
- hostico*, sc. 'agro.'
- § 8. *tectis agrorum* = dwellings in the open country, 'farm-buildings.'
- satis* = segetibus (Weiss.), a poetical use. Cp. 8. 29. 11.
- in spem*, 'to let them hope for a harvest.'
- Chap 32, § 1. *celebrari*, 'to be put in force (frequently).'
- locatum*, 'contracted for.'
- § 2. *quem dilectum*, 'the tribunes of the commons had no levy of troops to stop.'
- § 3. *coacta*, i.e. plebs.
- § 4. *sacramento*, ablative. Cp. 2. 1. 9 'populum iure iurando adegit.'
- § 5. *subita belli*, 'emergencies;' supra 31. 7 'extrema finium.'
- § 6. *ut . . . sic*, 'although . . . still.' A shower of rain and tremendous storm stopped a battle which promised success, though not at the time a really decided victory.
- § 8. *gradu demoti*, 'forced from their position.' Technical military use of 'gradus.'
- inclinavit*; 1. 27. 11 'fuga inclinavit,' as frequently 'acies inclinavit' (Weiss.).
- vis*, 'the onslaught,' 'rush.'
- § 10. *fugae simili*, 'by a march much like a flight.' Tac. Ann. 6. 44 'sed fugae specie discessum.'
- prope*, 'close in their track.' Probably 'prope' is here an adverb; but 'proximus' is found with genitive, dative, and ablative in Sallust, and also with the preposition 'ab.'

plus tamen, 'fear was swifter than vengeance;' i. e. the Latins and Volscians escaped.

§ 11. *extrema agminis*; supra 31. 7.

nec Romanis, 'because on the one hand the Romans were not.'

Chap. 33, § 1. *Seditio*, 'a quarrel.' Antium was a town of the Volsci in Latium; so '*seditio*' implies secession from the alliance formed with the Latins.

§ 2. *nihil per alteros*, 'that it did not depend on either party to hinder the policy begun.'

§ 3. *profecti . . . vindicaverunt*. 'The Latins by departing freed themselves from any part in a degrading peace.'

incommodis . . . remotis, 'having got rid of the unsuitable judges of what was good policy.'

§ 4. *igni concremarent*, 'burnt to the ground.'

matris Matutæ; cp. 5. 19. 6, note. Her temple at Satricum is also mentioned 28. 11 '*Satrici Matris Matutæ (aedem) de caelo tactam*.'

§ 5. *inde*, 'from it,' with *arculisse*.

nefandos, 'sacrilegious.' Cp. Tib. 3. 5 '*nec nos sacrilegi templis admovimus ignes*.'

delubris: said to be from '*de-luo*,' place of expiation.

§ 6. *Tusculum*, 'carried them thus maddened and infuriated to Tusculum.'

§ 9. *simul . . . animo*, 'combining the position of besiegers and besieged.'

terrere una ac pavere, 'frightening on one side, fearful on the other' = attacking and defending at once; 22. 5. 4.

§ 11. *excipit*, 'answered by.'

molientes: of siege work, as absolute in Tac. Hist. 4. 29 '*sonus molientium*.'

§ 12. *ab hostibus* = from the enemy.

Chap. 34, § 1. *Quanto magis* with *tranquilla*. Weissenborn reads '*tanto*;' the proportion is shown by the verb '*crescebant*.' The ablative ('*tanto*'), common with adjectives, is rare with verbs. Cic. pro Deit. 4. 12 '*tanto vicerat, quanto praestitisti*;' Caes. B. C. 1. 81. 3 '*quantum . . . tanto aberant*;' Ov. Met. 13. 367 '*tanto supero*.' (Weiss.)

eo ipso, 'ease of payment was stopped by the simple fact that payment was compulsory.' For a financial crisis and the remedies applied to it, see Tac. Ann. 6. 16. 17.

§ 2. *fama*. Tac. l. c. '*eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat*.'

corpore . . . satisfaciebant. It is only within a few years that the writs '*ca. sa.*' = *capias debitoris corpus ad satisfaciendum*, have been abolished in England.

in vicem fidei, 'in the place of fulfilling their engagements by paying their debts.' (Weiss.)

§ 3. *obnoxios summisserant*, 'had abjectly surrendered.'
quod ut liceret, 'for the legal right to which.'

§ 4. *experienti*, 'enterprising.'

§ 5. *rem ingentem molitundi*, 'for bringing about an enormous change.'

M. Fabius Ambustus. The three sons of this man had been sent as 'legati' to the Gauls when attacking Clusium, 5. 35, 36.

sui corporis = *sui ordinis*.

id genus, i.e. plebeians.

Stolo. Weissenborn quotes Varro de Re Rust. 1. 2. 9 'quod nullus in eius fundo reperiri poterat Stolo, quod effodiebat circum arbores e radicibus quae nascerentur e solo, quos Stolones appellabant.'

§ 6. *forem . . . percuteret*. Cp. Pliny 7. 112 'Cn. Pompeius intraturus Posidonii domum fores percuti de more vetuit.'

insueta: used with genitive, dative, adjective, and infinitive.

§ 7. *stimulos . . . subdidit* = stung her woman's feelings, easily excited by insignificant matters.

num quid vellet. Usually the formula on taking leave: here = was anything the matter? *suique . . . paenituisse*, 'she regretted her own choice, from that foolish idea ('arbitrium,' opinion) which makes all persons unable to bear to be distanced by their relatives.'

§ 8. *piam*, 'affectionate'—affection being, as it were, the 'dutifulness' between sisters.

§ 9. *impari*, 'to one beneath her.' As the ceremony of marriage transferred the woman into her husband's family and under the 'potestas' of the head of his family, the patrician girl would practically in this case become a member of the plebs.

§ 11. *cuius spei* = whose ambition.

Chap. 35, § 1. *cuius . . . speraret*. The subjunctive to introduce the semi-Oratio Obliqua of their thoughts and plans.

§ 2. *accingendum* without 'se,' reflexive: 4. 2. 7 'ad consulatum vulgi turbatores accingi;' Virg. Aen. 2. 671 'Hinc ferro accingor rursus.' (Weiss.)

eo gradum fecisse = had climbed to a position.

annitantur = if they now make an effort. This use of present subjunctive in Oratio Obliqua has been noted before, and is very characteristic of Livy. Cp. especially 1. 9. 14, 15.

honore, 'official distinction.'

§ 4. *adversus*, 'antagonistic to,' 'to break down.'

deducto, 'after subtracting from the amount of the loan ('caput,' principal) what had been paid in interest, the balance should be paid in three equal yearly instalments.'

§ 5. *modo agrorum*, 'a limitation of land-holding.'

plus quingenta: when used with numerals, 'plus' and 'amplius' rarely take the ablative, although 'quam' is omitted.

tribunorum militum. Supra c. 30, the plebeian 'tribuni militum' do not appear to have been of much use when elected; and cp. infra 37. 5 'quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum militum creatum esse.'

utique, 'one, at any rate.' The proposal had been before made by Canuleius, 4. 2. 7.

§ 6. *discrimine proposito*, 'a struggle for . . . being offered.'

publicis privatisque, 'both as a class and as individuals,' 'political and personal.'

collegas; as constantly done, especially against Tiberius Gracchus.

§ 7. *recitari*, to be read out by a clerk (Weissenborn), when the 'veto' might be exercised.

sollemne: 39. 15. 1 'sollemne carmen precationis, quod praefari, priusquam populum adloquantur, magistratus solent.'

ad sciendum plebi, 'usual, customary for the plebs in voting (on a measure).'

§ 8. *pro antiquatis*, 'as good as rejected.'

placet, 'it is your pleasure,' 'you are determined.'

isto ipso, 'the very weapon you use.'

§ 9. *faxo* = *fecero*, 'I will bring it about that.'

concinentes: cp. *συμφων*; 'harmonious.'

§ 10. *solitudo magistratuum*, 'this state of having no magistrates.'

tollentibus, 'stopping,' 'doing away with.' This state of things at Rome is certainly the logical outcome of the system, which contrived that one official should act as a check on another, and, as in the case of 'tribuni plebis,' gave an absolute power to bring about a deadlock of political business. But there is something too extraordinary in the acquiescence or submission of the 'patres' in the present case for so long a time: and modern critics have either rejected Livy's statement or attempted to disprove it by chronological researches.

Chap. 36, § 1. *gestientes otio*, 'growing insolent in time of peace;' 'gestio' from 'gestus'; literally, to throw oneself about for joy.

§ 5. *haud paulo vi maiore* = much more closely.

§ 7. *Fabius*. M. Fabius Ambustus, supra 34. 5.

auctor, 'suggested.'

suasorem, 'openly advocated,' 'openly supported.'

§ 8. *quum octo*, 'whereas eight had vetoed, now there were only five; and perplexed and puzzled as men usually are who secede from their friends.'

domi, i.e. in consultation among themselves and with the patricians who opposed these laws.

praetendebant = gave as excuse for.

§ 10. *artifloes*, 'versed,' 'experienced by their many years' practice.'
fatigabant, 'plied (with questions).'

§ 11. *quum*, 'although,' 'whereas.'
bina = only two.

§ 12. *an placeret*, 'or did they wish that the plebs, overwhelmed by usury, should, rather than pay the loan by (returning) the capital, surrender their persons?' &c.

nobiles = *patrum*.

carcerem. 1. 33, Ancus Martius is said to have built the state prison afterwards called 'carcer Mamertinus;' and Servius Tullius is said to have added the dungeon called 'Tullianum.' The 'carcer Lautumiarum' was afterwards added, mentioned 210 B.C., 32. 27.

Chap. 37, § 1. *timentes*, i.e. the plebeians, their audience.

atqui. This particle does not seem to have its usual meaning of 'but nevertheless;' it appears more like a particle of asseveration, 'they still emphatically.' Weissenborn says that it does not go with 'affirmabant' but strengthens the accusative and infinitive; but this does not elucidate its meaning.

§ 2. *modum*, 'no stop to the patricians seizing land.' Cp. the word 'land-grabber.'

§ 3. *quippe quae*, 'for indeed that office was destroying.'

§ 4. *Nec esse quod*, 'and (they said) it was not a concession which any one could think enough.'

ratio . . . habeatur, 'if a plebeian should be allowed to become a candidate.' 'Rationem habere' = to take account of, i.e. the presiding official would allow votes to be given for the particular candidate, &c. The phrase occurs frequently in Cicero's Letters about the time of Caesar's final rupture with Pompey; the dispute being 'de ratione Caesaris absentis habenda,' at the consular 'comitia.'

utique; supra 35. 5.

§ 5. *idcirco . . . ut*: together; 'with this very object that'

§ 6. *Quid crederent?* Oratio Obliqua, 'What do you believe?'
impertituros; sc. *patres*.

octona: the distributive for the cardinal number.

§ 7. *Lege*, 'by statute law.'

relictus, 'the consulship, if left to be contested.'

§ 8. *curules magistratus*; cp. 5. 41. 2.

primus ex plebe; 5. 12. 9.

aliquot damnatos, e.g. Sergius and Verginius, 5. 12. 1, and Camillus.

§ 10. *stabilem libertatem*; 2. 1. 7 'Libertatis originem inde magis, quia annum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate.'

§ 11. *genus*. The first member of a non-patrician family who gained a 'curule' office became 'auctor generis,' and transmitted the 'ius imaginum' to his descendants and the right to the auspices (4. 6. 2); indeed his 'gens' was probably thereby made equal in most, though not in all respects to a patrician 'gens.' (Weiss.)

nobilitatem, 'rank.'

ipsis fruenda, 'for themselves to enjoy, still greater to leave to their children' = *ut iis ipsi fruerentur*. Cic. Mil. 22. 63 'quin vobis haec fruenda relinqueret.'

§ 12. *accipi*, 'acceptable.' Cp. our use of 'take,' as applied to books or plays.

pars = half.

comitia = the voting on.

Chap. 38, § 1. *de legibus res*, 'the proposing of the laws.'

§ 3. *ultima auxilia*, 'last resources,' 5. 37. 1.

§ 4. *cooptat*. The word technically expresses the choice of the dictator; 'nominare' and 'dicere' are commonly used.

causam plebis, 'support,' 'strengthen the people's cause with unflinching resolution.'

§ 5. *intercedendum*. If the details are meant to be accurate, the tribunes seem not to have opposed the summoning of the tribes, but to be now trying to oppose the passing of the law.

favore, 'popularity.'

Uti rogas. The 'tabellae' for voting on a law proposed were marked U. R. for approval, A. ('Antiquo') for rejection. Otherwise, in electing a magistrate, the voter wrote the candidate's name on his 'tabella.' In courts of justice, the 'tabellae' were marked A. ('Absolvo') C. ('Condemno'), N. L. ('non liquet' = not proven). The presiding official 'rogavit populum de lege' ('velitis iubeatis rogo'), whence the phrase 'Uti rogas.' Cp. 10. 8. 12 'Ego hanc legem, uti rogas, iubendam censeo.'

primae, i.e. *praerogativa et aliae tribus*.

§ 6. *libido*, 'licence,' 'caprice.'

secessione; 2. 33, B.C. 494. Of course the original idea of the veto had been its usefulness against patrician action or legislation.

vestra causa, 'for your own sake.'

adaro, 'will support.'

§ 7. *nihil . . . inseram*, 'I will in no way intrude my patrician office upon an assembly of the plebs.'

vim tribuniciam; supra 37. 3.

§ 9. *re neutro inclinata*. The vagueness at this point of the struggle at least shows that the plebeian tribunes were probably within their rights.

solvit, *scisco* = iubeo, of laws.

pro dictatore, 'in his capacity of dictator.'

multa, 'a fine of.'

§ 10. *novi exempli rogatione*, 'an unheard-of proposal.'

ut credam after facit, 'I am induced to believe both by the character of the man in question.'

§ 11. *quem quid*, 'for what object was there in electing him to deal with a crisis in which M. Furius had been defeated?'

haud sine pudore, 'who certainly could not without a feeling of shame resume a power which in the year before had been crushed in his hands.'

§ 12. *in ordinem cegi*, 'was forced back to his usual rank,' i.e. 'reduced,' cp. 3. 51. 13.

ne illas, &c.; 'or else he could not have stopped those proposals (the 'de agris,' 'de consulatu,' &c.) on account of which this proposal ('de multa') was brought forward.'

§ 13. *dictaturae*, i.e. there is no record of successful resistance to a dictator.

Chap. 39, § 2. *iubebant*; supra 38. 9 'plebs scivit.'

in omnia consulere, 'take the feeling of the plebs on all together,' 21. 43. 7 'in mercedem.' Weissenborn quotes Dio Cass. frag. 29. 5 ὁ Στόλων ἐπὶ τὸν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν πίοιεν, εἰ μὴ φάγοιεν, ἀνέπεισεν αὐτοὺς μηδενὸς ἀφείσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ὅσα ἐνεχειρίσαντο κατεργάσασθαι.

§ 3. C. Licinius. Not Stolo, the tribune of the plebs, but a relative of his. The passage would have been clearer if his cognomen had been added.

§ 6. *privatim* = personally.

publice, 'politically.'

§ 7. *ablegatione*, 'sending away;' used by Pliny as a euphemism for 'relegatio,' banishing; and such would be implied by the tribunes here.

iuventutis, 'soldiery.'

§ 8. *dictatorem* ... *quippe qui*, 'not even the dictator, for he ...' omen, 'a foreshadowing of a plebeian consul,' 'good omen for.'

§ 9. *possessoribus*, 'occupiers.'

si velit; singular, 'plebs.'

§ 10. *incident*: literally, 'carve,' engrave on the tablets on which the laws were written.

modestiae, 'moderation,' 'self-respect.'

populi Romani = plebis. (Weiss.)

per quos ... *relinquat*, 'while it left the men, by whom it gained those privileges, old and only tribunes.'

§ 11. *esse quod*, 'there was a reason why.'

§ 12. *opus sit*, 'advantageous.'

velint after vellent: 2. 39. 11; Caes. Bell. Gall. 1. 34 'si quid opus esset ... si quid ille velit.' (Weiss.)

Chap. 40, § 1. *obstino*. A lengthened form of 'obsto.'

stupor . . . defixisset, 'amazement had paralysed.'

§ 2. *nepos decemviri*; in 4. 48. 5 he is '*minimus natu ex patrum concilio*.'

sententiam, 'to the following effect.'

§ 3. *neque . . . sit*, 'let it not be' = it cannot be.

iam inde, 'from the very beginning.' The Claudii migrated to Rome and were enrolled among the patres, B.C. 504, before the battle at Lake Regillus. The founder of the family at Rome was Attus Clausus, who came from Inregillum, a town of the Sabines, 2. 16.

antiquius, 'preferable.'

§ 4. *infittas*. Only used in the accusative with 'ire,' and usually with a negative. From 'fat-eor.' (Weiss.)

§ 5. *contendere ausim* = I will venture to maintain.

vere referri, 'can with truth be brought forward.'

§ 6. *An hoc with reticere possim*.

duobus ingenuis. Cp. 10. 8. 10 'patricios primo esse factos, non de caelo demissos, sed qui patrem ciere possent, id est nihil ultra quam ingenuos.'

§ 7. *regnant*, the charge brought against the Gracchi.

non . . . non; superfluous after *negent*, but adding to the emphasis of the language.

§ 8. *inquit*; SEXTIUS or LICINIUS.

Quid est aliud, 'what else is it than to say . . . ?' '*quam*' omitted. Cp. Cic. Piso 47 '*quid est aliud furere?*' = *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ*. Weissenborn adds Cic. Off. 3. 13. 55 '*quid est enim aliud erranti viam non monstrare—si hoc non est*,' &c.

§ 10. *Tarquinii*, 'you, Tarquin-like.'

succlamare. Used also of friendly interruptions, 3. 50. 10 '*Verginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, nec illius dolori . . . se defuturos*.'

Bona venia vestra, 'by your good leave'; 7. 41. 3 '*Oravit etiam bona venia Quirites*.'

§ 11. *non fiat* after *licebit ut* = it shall not be allowed that this abomination (the electing SEXTIUS and LICINIUS to consulships) be not perpetrated.

abominaris; supra 18. 9, and 30. 25. 12. (Weiss.)

§ 12. *vitale*, 'life-giving.'

tuleris, 'propose.'

§ 13. *invidiosius*, 'more unpleasant (than anything else).'

§ 14. *magistratus ille*, 'the tribune.'

secundis auribus; cp. '*secundo populo*,' '*concione*,' '*Marte*,' &c.

ab nostrum quo, 'by any one of us (patricians).'

§ 15. *civilis* = courteous, becoming the conduct of one *civis* to an-

other. Juv. 5. 112 'poscimus ut cenes civiliter;' Tac. Ann. 1. 23 'civile ingenium.' Weissenborn adds 45. 32. 5 'nulli civilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis aequè patiens.'

Sermoni... simillima, 'exactly resembles their language.' 'Sermo,' the language of conversation, as opposed here to 'rogatio,' the set formula of the statute brought forward.

§ 17. Porsinna; 2. 9. 1 'Tarquinius ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant.'

hoc M. Furio. Like *ὁπρωί*, Camillus being assumed to be among the audience with the patres.

haud pro dubio, 'without possibility of failure, would be absolutely consul.' Weissenborn quotes Sall. Jug. 22. 4 'non recte neque pro bono,' and Livy 4. 7. 3 'pro confirmato.'

de repulsa dimicare = fight for, risked a defeat.

§ 18. necesse sit, 'ut' omitted, supplied from previous sentence. consortio; 4. 5. 5 'si in consortio, si in societate rei publicae.' (Weiss.)

Parum est, 'Is it too little for you, if you receive a part of that in which you hitherto have had no part at all, unless while asking for part you appropriate the whole?'

§ 19. Quid est dicere; supra 8.

indignos; sc. 'qui consules creentur.'

vestra voluntate = ultro, 'of your own free-will.'

§ 20. debeat. Sall. Jug. 85. 37 'nobilitas omnis honores non ex merito sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit.'

lege = by statute, because if alone he could not be rejected.

Chap. 41, § 1. ita maxima... ut, 'they mean to win the highest honour so completely that they will not be indebted even for the lowest,' i.e. 'while they mean, &c., they intend not to be indebted, &c.'

occasionibus, 'by seizing their opportunities,' i.e. offering themselves as plebeian candidates unopposed by any of their own class.

§ 2. inspicere, aestimari, by public opinion. There was no *δοκιμασία* as at Athens. Cp. 3. 25. 4.

serva; neut. plur.

§ 3. perpetuus, rhetorical exaggeration: or it might = uninterrupted, continuous, as in Virg. Aen. 7. 176:—

'Perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis.'

numeratis. On the bases of the statues; but the years of the kings' reigns were inscribed on these statues much later than the present date. (Weiss.)

per occasionem, 'by taking advantage of.'

§ 4. deorum iniuria. For the argument 'de religionibus,' cp. 5. 55. 1 'Movisse Camillus ea oratione, quae ad religiones pertinebat,

maxime dicitur.' Tacitus quotes a very different remark of Tiberius, with reference to a charge of perjury: 'deorum iniurias dis curae' Ann. i. 73. See supra i. 10 for the policy of the patricians in dealing with the publishing of the 'religiones.'

§ 5. *plebeius magistratus*, 'tribunes and aediles.'

quidem, 'of course,' ironical. (Weiss.)

§ 6. *privati*, 'as individuals;' *isti*, e.g. 'tribuni plebis.'

§ 7. *Eludant*, 'scoff at.'

§ 8. *quid esse*, 'what (they ask) is it?'

pulli, 'the sacred chickens.' There is a tale of a Roman general who, when he found that the chickens would not eat, ordered them to be thrown into the sea, that at least they might be made to drink.

ex cavea, 'from their coop.' Cic. Nat. D. 2. 3. 8 'cum cavea liberati pulli non pascerentur.'

occino. Cp. 10. 40. 14 'corvus voce clara occinuit;' both forms of the perfect are found.

rem = *republicam*.

§ 9. *pace*, 'grace.'

sacrificuli reges. The title 'rex' only remained as applied to this ceremonial official, 2. 2. 1 'quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant.' So at Athens the Ἀρχων βασιλεὺς had charge of public worship.

apicem, 'the cap.' Servius on Virgil Aen. 2. 683 explains it as the small rod, wound round with wool, on the top of the cap worn by the 'flamen Dialis.'

§ 10. *comitiis*. See on 5. 1.

§ 11. *pellendo finibus*, 'by driving the owners from their property.'

fidem, credit, trust, 'and with this the bond of social community is destroyed.'

§ 12. *faxitis* = *feceritis*.

Chap. 42, § 2. *decemviris sacrorum*, 3. 10. 7; 40. 22. 11. (Weiss.)

ex parte, 'to the number of half;' supra 37. 12.

§ 5. *auctor est* = Claudius asserts.

inolitam, 'the famous battle.' The tale of Torquatus is recorded 7. 10.

§ 7. *Galli*, subject of 'attulerant.'

§ 8. *quod*. The reasons of their saving themselves from the enemy are twofold: (1) because they fled so far away; (2) because they scattered all over the country.

§ 9. These are the Licinian rogations, to which Tiberius Gracchus appealed when he endeavoured to force the 'possessores' to give up the lands which they had received in violation of these statutes.

adversa nobilitate, 'with the aristocracy opposing,' 'in spite of

aristocratic opposition.' Weissenborn quotes I. 46. 2 'adversa patrum voluntate.'

§ 10. *auctores*; supra 41. 10, 'to ratify,' 'approve.' Cp. I. 17 'decreverunt ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent.'

res, subject of 'venit,' 'they came nearly to.'

prope secessionem; 26. 48. 8 'ea contentio quum prope seditionem veniret.' (Weiss.)

§ 11. The 'praetor urbanus,' the 'praetor peregrinus' was added after the First Punic War. From their jurisdiction sprang the code known as Roman Law. In administering justice, the praetor came to apply principles of equity where the 'ius civile,' or strict law, did not adequately meet a case; and his decisions became incorporated in time in an 'edictum,' which, added to annually, served as a precedent to subsequent officials.

§ 12. *dignam* with *ut*, 'that this result deserved that.' Weissenborn quotes 24. 16. 19 'digna res visa ut simulacrum pingi iuberet.'

merito also with *ut*=that it would be according to the merits of the gods that, i.e. that the gods well deserved that.

§ 13. *recusantibus*, 'because the expense would fall on them.'

id facturos ut, 'would gladly allow themselves to be elected aediles.'

§ 14. *auctores*, 'should confirm,' 'ratify all the measures passed in that year.' Supra 10.

BOOK VII.

Chap. 1, § 1. *novi hominis*, 'a man risen from the people.' Cp. Juv. 8. 237 of Cicero, 'Hic novus Arpinas;' *ibid.* 254:—

'Plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt Nomina.'

curuli, 'because held by patricians,' 6. 42. 14; and for 'curulis,' 5. 41. 2.

§ 2. *campestri*, because the voting took place in the Campus Martius.

oeperunt. The unusual expression points to the success of the patricians in securing these offices, by way of balancing the Licinian laws.

§ 3. *agitata*, 'discussed.'

§ 4. *profferrentur*, 'all business was postponed.'

tacitum, 'in silence,' adjective. Supply 'id' antecedent to 'quod.' Cp. I. 50. 9 'ne id quidem ab Turno tacitum tulisse.'

§ 5. *praetextatos*. The 'praetexta' was worn by the higher magistrates, and by freeborn children until they assumed the 'toga virilis.'

§ 6. *reddentem*, 'administering.' In Livy 3. 55. 11 the phrase '*consulibus et praetoribus*' occurs, where '*praetor*' is explained as referring to the consul in his judicial capacity.

iisdem auspiciis; 8. 32. 3 '*praetores iisdem auspiciis, quibus consules, creati*,' 43. 14. 1 '*praetoribus et vis imperii et auctoritas minor (quam consulibus)*,' 45. 43. 2 '*minor ipse imperator . . . et iure imperii praetor cum consule collatus*.' (Weiss.)

verecundia, 'the patricians were shy of electing,' 'felt themselves bound not to elect.'

§ 7. *ne quando*, 'that they might not have a moment's respite.'

§ 8. *ferunt*, 'historians record.'

pro portione, 'in proportion too from the general population.'

§ 9. *vel . . . vel*, 'on whatever ground you please, either because,' &c. *restitutus*; 27. 34. 14 '*M. Furium revocatum de exilio patriam pulsam sede sua restituisse*.' Plut. Cam. 30 *τὸν σωτῆρα πατρίδος γενόμενον καὶ καταγαγόντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν εἰς αὐτήν*.

§ 10. *titulo tantae gloriae*, 'the renown of his great distinction,' as it would be in the inscription on his statue.

dignus . . . quem, 'and deemed worthy to be named by the Romans the second founder of the city after Romulus.'

ferrent, 'to distinguish,' 'name as.' Preface 7 '*Martem . . . ferat*.' (Weiss.)

Chap. 2. For the history of the Roman stage and its literature Teuffel's History of Roman Literature may be consulted; and see Sellar's Roman Poets of the Republic, especially the chapters on Plautus and Terence.

§ 2. *tertio*. The first '*lectisternium*' is mentioned 5. 13. 6; the second does not occur in Livy.

ludi scenici: literally, plays on a stage, distinguished from wrestling, racing, &c. The principal writers of plays in the Republican period were—T. Maccius Plautus, died B.C. 184; P. Terentius Afer, died B.C. 159; and T. Quinctius Atta, B.C. 80, comedians; M. Livius Andronicus, B.C. 204; Q. Ennius, B.C. 169; L. Accius, B.C. 135; and M. Pacuvius, B.C. 132, tragedians.

§ 4. *et ea ipse*, 'and indeed this too.'

actu=recital of poems which required gesture.

ludio: '*ludius*' is also used; cp. '*lanio*' and '*lanius*,' '*voltur*' and '*volturium*.' (Weiss.)

ex Etruria; Tac. Ann. 14. 21.

§ 5. *inconditis . . . versibus*, 'gibing at one another in rough verses.'

nec absoni, 'not inappropriate to.'

§ 6. *excitata*, 'kept up by constant practice.'

Vernaculis artificibus, i.e. scenicis; 'native artistes.'

§ 7. *Fescennino*. Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 145:—

'Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem

Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.'

versu, dative: 9. 5. 6 'exercitu.' (Weiss.)

impletas. Comic verses with rhythm complete, opposed to the 'rough and clumsy' dialogue of the Fescennine verse.

saturas. Probably 'satura' and 'satur' are from the same root as 'sero,' 'satum' (cp. 'Saturnus,' 'Saturnalia,' 'Saturnius versus'), and 'satura' was first applied to the rough jests in verse sung at harvest festivals and the 'saturnalia.' Livy means that they brought 'saturae' on the stage, but of an improved kind, with regular melody and rhythm. (Weiss.)

modis. Weissenborn quotes Val. Max. 'paulatim deinde ludicra ars ad saturarum modos perrepsit.' Cic. Legg. 2. 15. 39 'illa quae solebant quondam compleri Livianis modis.'

descripto ad, 'arranged for.'

§ 8. *Livius*. M. Livius Andronicus, Cic. Brut. 18 'Livius qui primus fabulam C. Claudio Caeci filio et M. Tuditano consulibus docuit anno post Romam conditam quarto decimo et quingentesimo.' (Weiss.)

post aliquot annis: 32. 5. 10 'post paucis diebus;' 40. 57. 2 'post paulo, aliquanto.'

argumento, 'to put together a play with a plot.' Weissenborn quotes Quint. 5. 10. 9 'fabulae ad actum scenarum compositae argumenta dicuntur.'

serere = componere: 38. 56. 8 'alia tota serenda fabula est.' (Weiss.)

§ 9. *revocatus*, 'after frequent recalls (encores) finding his voice hoarse.'

venia petita, 'obtained permission, and placed a boy to sing in front of the musician, while he acted to the words (i.e. a solo) of the song with gestures considerably more life-like, because he was not prevented by having to use his voice.'

§ 10. *ad manum*, 'the songs were sung in harmony with the actor's gesticulation.' Pantomime acting with musical accompaniment is evidently here meant.

diverbia = declamation without musical accompaniment. (Weiss.)

§ 11. *ab risu*, &c., 'from the region of mere comic and laughable jesting.'

iuventus, 'the young Romans.'

histrionibus, 'professional actors.'

exodia, 'farces.' Juv. 3. 174:—

'tandemque redit ad pulpita notum

Exodium.'

After-pieces, like the Satyric drama attached to the Greek trilogy. (Weiss.)

fabellis Atellanis. Diomed. p. 487 'tertia species est fabularum Latinarum quae a civitate Atella, in quae primum coepit, Atellanae dictae sunt, argumentis dictisque iocularibus similes Satyricis fabulis Graecis;' 'a burlesque national comedy.' (Weiss.)

§ 12. **tenuit**, 'kept to themselves.'

nec tribu, 'are not disfranchised, and may serve in the army, as though not engaged in the art of comedy.' Valer. Max. (quoted by Weissenborn) 'quod genus delectationis (Atellanae) vacuum nota est... neque a militaribus stipendiis repellitur.' And Augustin. de Civit. Dei, 2. 13, quoting from Cicero, 'quum artem ludicram scenamque totam probro ducerent, genus id hominum non modo honore civium reliquorum carere, sed etiam tribu moveri notatione censoria voluerunt.'

§ 13. **quam ab sano**, 'how from a sensible beginning the practice has reached a senseless development, which a rich monarchy could scarcely support.'

Chap. 3, § 1. Neco tamen, 'However, the institution of plays set on foot to atone for the prodigies.' (Weiss.)

§ 2. **medios ludos**, 'the plays during their representation.'

§ 3. **clavus**. There is a passage in Petron. 135, though the reading is obscure, which has been taken to imply that nails were similarly used by country people to mark the years. Weissenborn quotes Pliny, 'remedium contra tonitrus clavus ferreus sub stramine ovorum ponitur.'

§ 5. **praetor maximus** = dictator. Cp. 3. 55. 11, where 'praetor' is apparently synonymous with consul; 'the highest magistrate.'

idibus Septembribus, '13th.'

lateri. Probably locative form, cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 73 'haeret letalis arundo.' (Weiss.)

ex qua parte, 'on the side where.'

§ 6. **rarae litterae**; 6. 1. 2.

notam. Weissenborn quotes Paul. Diac. p. 56 'clavus annalis appellabatur qui figebatur in aedibus sacrarum aedium per annos singulos ut per eos numerus colligeretur annorum.'

eo quia, 'for this reason, because number was the invention of Minerva.'

dicatam legem. The law was dedicated to Minerva as the inventor of number and the guardian of law, infra 8.

§ 7. **Nortia**; identified by some with Fortuna. A goddess of the Etruscans, cp. Juv. 10. 74 :—

'si Nortia Tusco [Seiano]

Favisset.'

§ 8. **Horatius consul**, 2. 8 ad fin. He is in the list as M. Horatius Pulvillus, elected into the place of Brutus, the first consul.

maius imperium: 6. 38. 13 'dicturae semper altius fastigium fuit.'

sollemne = the ceremony.

§ 9. *Qua de causa*, 'on whatever grounds.'

perinde ac ('si'); so '*tanquam*' is used. Cp. 2. 58. 1; 10. 34. 5.

affectans, 'aiming at,' 'aspiring after.'

Chap. 4, § 1. For *L. Manlius*, cp. *Cic. Off.* 3. 31. (Weiss.)

dies dicitur. As mentioned in 6. 38, it seems to have been impossible to resist any action on the part of the dictator; the only remedy, as here, lay in a prosecution after his resignation. Livy inclines to disbelieve the threat of a fine against Camillus, and gives fairly satisfactory reasons for his decision. *Cic. l. c.* '*quod paucos sibi dies ad dictaturam gerendam addidisset.*'

lata = *perlata*, *tolerata*; 22. 54. 11 '*minore animo latae clades sunt.*'

partim = *nonnullis*, with *caesis*, 'some having been scourged.'

qui, with subjunctive, gives the reason.

§ 3. *ingenium atrox*. Cp. the '*trux ingenium*' of Appius the Decemvir, 3. 54. 3.

§ 4. *Crimini dabat*, 'alleged as a charge.'

nullius probri, 'not proved guilty of any crime.' The punishment thus inflicted would not be beyond the legal power of a '*paterfamilias*,' though public opinion materially mitigated the employment of such power. Cp. the '*interdictio aqua et igni.*' Tac. Ann. 1. 3 '*flagitii compertum.*'

ergastulum (*ἐργάστωμα*), a house where offenders (slaves or debtors) were imprisoned and forced to work. Cp. 2. 23. 6 '*ductum se ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse.*'

§ 5. *imperioso*, 'tyrannical.'

infacundior, 'less able to speak than most persons,' 'a little slow of speech and not ready with his tongue.' For the comparative, which is very common, cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 29:—

'*Iracundior est paullo, minus aptus acutis*

Naribus horum hominum:'

and *infra* '*parum prosperum.*'

§ 6. *nutriendum*, 'tended,' 'gently treated.' Weissenborn quotes Celsus '*nutrire ulcus, morbos.*'

parum prosperum, 'unfortunate.'

habendo; (1) by keeping him, (2) with '*cultu.*'

Chap. 5, § 2. *non civilis exempli*, 'not such as all citizens (peaceable men) should copy.'

pietate, 'filial affection.'

§ 3. *domum ad*, 'to the house of M. Pomponius.'

domino convento, 'of a meeting with his master.'

nuntiaret, 'he bade him announce.'

§ 4. *ad rem agendam*, 'to push on the prosecution;' for '*spe* deferre,' cp. 1. 5. 5. (Weiss.)

salute, 'greetings.'
arbitris remotis, 'without witnesses.'

§ 5. ipse. T. Manlius.

concepisset, 'to draw up,' 'compose a form of words;' 1. 32. 8
'paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis.'

se; the first refers to Pomponius, the second se to T. Manlius.

§ 6. stolidè ferocem, 'confident, like a boor, in his physical strength.'

prae se deinde, 'afterwards openly declared.'

§ 7. perinde ut, 'just as the plebs would have preferred . . . still they were not angry.'

aegre. Sall. Cat. 51. 11 'multi eas gravius aequo habuere.' (Weiss.)
tanta acerbitas patria = all his father's brutality.

ipsi . . . honori, the violation of the 'Sacrosanct Tribune' should have involved the most severe punishment. Seneca de Benef. 3. 37
'nulli alii licuit impune tribunum in ordinem redigere.'

§ 9. tribunos militum, officers in the army, six to each legion.

ad legiones with fieri, cp. 'servos ad remum dabamus.' (Weiss.)

antea, i.e. before this date, B.C. 362.

Rufulos: said to be named after one Rutilius Rufus.

ut qui, 'seeing that.'

Chap. 6, § 1. specu. Cp. 35. 9. 3 'collapsa quaedam ruinis sunt.' (Weiss.)

§ 2. voraginem, 'chasm.'

quum pro se quisque, 'though one and all brought earth.'

deum monitu. Weissenborn quotes Dion. 14. 20 οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὰ βιβλία εἶπον, ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῶ Ρωμαίων δήμῳ λαβούσα ἡ γῆ συνελεύσεται.

quaeri coeptum, 'men began to ask what was the most powerful possession of the Roman people.'

§ 3. coastigasse, 'upbraided.'

§ 4. ad deos manes, 'to the gods below.' The 'Di Manes' are the deified souls of the dead, usually looked upon as beneficent spirits.

§ 5. antiquo illo; 1. 12, Mettius Curtius commanded the Sabines under Tatius.

§ 6. cura non deesset, 'diligence should not be wanting (i.e. I would carefully investigate the authorities), if there were any path that would lead my researches to the truth.'

standum est, 'we must rest contented with.'

derogat, 'detracts from,' 'puts out of reach.'

§ 7. fetiales, perhaps from 'for,' 'fari,' as 'oratores' from 'oro.' 1. 32. 5, Ancus was said to have instituted these ambassadors; they were a sort of priestly guild.

primo quoque die, literally, on each first day, 'as soon as possible.'

frequens, 'in great numbers.'

§ 8. in *expectatione*, *μετέωρος*, 'in a state of suspense,' 'excitement.'

suis auspiciis; that is, he would have to take the auspices before starting or before an engagement.

secus, 'otherwise,' i.e. badly, wrongly. Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 428 'dis aliter visum.' Cp. 5. 18. 7.

§ 9. *ab insciis quem*, 'by the enemy who knew not whom they had caught.'

§ 10. *feroces*, 'inspired,' 'insolent because of.'

irent, imperf. subj. of *Oratio Obliqua* = imperative.

§ 11. *plebiscito*, because of the law passed by Valerius and Horatius, consuls after the decemvirate, at the *centuriata comitia*, '*ut quod tributum plebes iussisset populum teneret*;' previously, there had been a dispute '*tenerenturne patres plebiscitis*:' and of this law Livy says '*tribunicis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est*'

PELLI HONORIBUS: '*PELLI FINIBUS*' 6. 41. 11.

ius, νόμος; *fas*, δειον. *ius* means that he had no equitable right; *fas*, that his exercising his power was a sin against religion.

gentium iure; the rights of families, of the 'patrician gentes,' who alone had the right of 'auspicia.' Cp. 4. 2. 5 '*Colluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspiorum publicorum privatorumque afferre*,' of the '*leges de connubio*' proposed by Canuleius.

Chap. 7, § 1. *legati*. In command of the army which had been under L. Genucius, the plebeian consul.

res per occasionem, 'an admirable success was gained by seizing an opportunity.'

§ 2. *expugnandi spe*. Tac. Ann. 1. 67 '*manendum intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent*.'

res, 'the result to the Hernici was very far from their hope of...'

§ 3. *laudibus*, 'by praising.'

§ 4. *ad hostes* = *apud*, 'on the side of the enemy.'

quadringenariae, 'eight cohorts of 400 men each.'

lecta robora = λογάδες, 'picked soldiers.'

§ 5. *eo etiam quod*, 'filled them with hope &c. by this fact also, by a resolution that, &c.'

immunes, as in later times the veterans were. Tac. Ann. 1. 36 '*retineri sub vexillo ceterorum immunes nisi propulsandi hostis*.'

unum pugnae laborem, 'reserved only for actual fighting.'

plus quam, &c., 'even beyond their usual courage.'

§ 6. *pari . . . spatio*, 'at an equal distance from each camp.'

§ 8. *effectu*, 'ineffectual in result rather than (weak) in attempt,' i.e. they charged boldly enough, but made no impression.

§ 9. *poterant* = *potuissent*.

Chap. 8, § 1. *primores*, the best soldiers, who on the Roman side belonged also to the aristocratic party; 1. 43. 8 'equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias.'

communis Mars = the chances, hazards of war.

multiplex, 'the loss counted for much more' because of their position. Weissenborn quotes 21. 59. 9 'maior quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot sunt interfecti.'

vulgus aliud, ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος.

§ 2. *inrepantes* . . . *querendo*. This use, with many other instances, shows how the want of participles is supplied in Latin.

ex equis; cp. δφ' ἵππων μάχεσθαι.

pedites, 'on foot.'

momenti, 'impression.'

quam tertiam, 'what third kind of fighting.'

§ 4. *tam vires pares*, 'what influence really defeated troops so well matched.'

§ 5. *Diu non perlitatum*, 'the fact that he had not favourable sacrifices for a long time,' i.e. it was long before the sacrifices gave favourable omens; 1. 53. 1.

§ 6. *infrequentia*, 'scattered.'

§ 7. *ubi haud minus*, 'where the loss was considerable.'

aliquot, 'a large number.'

Chap. 9, § 2. *ultra citroque*, 'backwards and forwards,' between Rome and Tibur.

§ 4. *dictum*, sc. esse dictatorem, 'that the dictator was appointed.'

comitia bello praeferre, 'to hold the election before the war,' cp. 39. 5. 12 'praetulit triumphi diem.'

§ 5. *leviorem*, 'less trustworthy.'

§ 6. The Via Salaria met the Via Nomentana at the Porta Collina near what were afterwards the Horti Sallustiani.

tumultus Gallici, 'the rising of the Gauls,' infra 11. 4. In 21. 16 'cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum,' the word has lost its original sense of a dangerous outbreak. Weissenborn quotes Cic. Phil. 8. 1 'maiores nostri tumultum Italicum quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant, gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi potest, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent.'

§ 7. *incertis viribus*, 'as their forces were well matched.'

§ 8. *noster duorum eventus*, 'the issue between us two;' compare the phrase 'mea ipsius voluntate,' &c.

Chap. 10, § 1. *praecipuam*, 'the special risk,' 'the risk before any one else.'

§ 2. *vexatione tribunicia*; supra 5.

nunquam pugnaverim, 'I hope I never may fight.'

non si = ne tum quidem si. (Weiss.)

§ 3. *beluae*, 'monster,' as a barbarian and 'eximia corporis magnitudine.'

praesultat, 'dances in front of,' *προμαχίζεσθαι*.

§ 4. *Macte*. The root is said to be the same as *μακ-* in *μάκαρ, μακρός*. Cato R. R. has the nominative 'mactus,' applied to gods.

§ 5. *stolide laetum*, 'senselessly exultant.' Here of the stupid joy of a barbarian, as supra 5. 6, of the feelings of one bred in the country.

§ 6. *Recipiunt se*, 'aequales T. Manlii.'

more, 'according to the rules of.'

§ 7. *auro*. Plin. 33. 1. 15 'Gallos cum auro pugnare solitos Torquatus indicio est.' (Weiss.)

refulgens. Cp. Tac. Hist. 4. 29 'insignibus effulgens.'

modica species, 'a simple grace, with weapons rather useful than elegant.'

§ 8. *discrimen* = the crisis.

§ 9. *pendentibus*. Cp. Ter. Heaut. 4. 4. 5 'Clitipho cum spe penderet animi.'

caesim, 'with the edge of his sword.' Cp. 22. 46. 5 'punctum magis quam caesim petere hostem,' of the Spaniards.

§ 10. *subrecto*; 8. 8. 10. The transitive use of 'surgere' (sub = sus-rigere) is found in Virg. Aen. 4. 183. (Weiss.)

toto corpore interior, 'with his whole body too close to be in danger of a wound.' Cp. 24. 34 'propius quaedam subibant naves quo interiores ictibus essent.'

inter corpus armaque, because he had struck up the Gaul's shield.

hausit, 'tore open,' 'gashed.' Weissenborn quotes Il. 13. 507 *δαδ' ἔντερα χαλκὸς ἤφυσ'*.

spatium ingens, *κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί*. (Weiss.)

§ 11. *uno torque*, 'only of a necklace.' Compare the other account, 6. 42. 5.

§ 13. *incondita*. Cp. 5. 49. 7 'iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt.'

in modum. 'In' is Madvig's emendation = almost in the rhythm (after the manner) of songs.

celebratum, 'kept up.'

§ 14. *pro contione*, 'in a public speech,' literally, before an assembly.

laudibus tulit, 'extolled,' 'praised.'

Chap. 11, § 1. *tanti momenti*, 'had such an influence.'

societate belli; supra 9. 1, 2.

§ 3. *Tiburtibus ducibus*, 'under the guidance of the Tiburtes.'

§ 4. *ex auctoritate*, 'in accordance with a resolution.'

ludos magnos; 5. 19. 6 'ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veis captis.'

§ 6. **haud procul porta Collina**. The close approach of the Gauls to the city at least shows that the defeat of Brennus thirty years previously had not checked their inroads: during this period they return as frequently as the Volsci and Aequi in other books.

in **conspetu**; 5. 49. 3 'in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos.' Tac. Germ. 7 'et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium.' (Weiss.)

§ 9. **suarum quoque**, 'resigning to them the honour of his own successes.'

ovans. In the 'ovatio,' or lesser triumph, granted after an easy or bloodless victory, the emperor entered the city on horseback or on foot, not in a chariot, as when a 'triumphus' was allowed.

Fabio for 'Fabio visum est,' i.e. **senatui** (Weiss.), = for Fabius the senate thought it enough.

§ 11. **ne nimis**, 'the Romans (they said) need not think it too wonderful or grand to cause a commotion at the enemy's gates.'

Chap. 12, § 2. **nocturnus pavor**, 'the alarm raised in the night,' 'night attack.'

§ 3. **conclamatum**. Cp. 6. 28. 3, the attack made by the Praenestini.

§ 4. **adeo vix . . . sustinuerunt**, 'so little were they able to withstand.' **bono fuisse**, 'was an advantage to.'

seditionem. Cic. Brut. 14. 56 'licet aliquid etiam de M. Popilii ingenio suspicari, qui quum consul esset eodemque tempore sacrificium publicum cum laena faceret, quod erat flamen Carmentalis, plebei contra patres concitatione et seditione nuntiata, ut erat laena amictus, ita venit in contionem seditionemque cum auctoritate tum oratione sedavit.' (Weiss.)

§ 6. **Etruriam adiacent**; 'adiacere' more commonly with dative. **ea provincia**, 'this official duty,' 'duty in this district.'

§ 7. **pax**. Nothing has been said before of war with the Latins; probably this refers to cementing the union, which, since the Gallic invasion, had been rather carelessly observed. So Polybius has ἐν τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Λατίνους πράγματα συνεστήσαντο. At any rate various towns had joined the Gauls, e.g. Tibur and Praeneste; and this arrangement did not last long. (Weiss.)

ex foedere vetusto, the beginning of the union between Rome and the Latins was after the battle of Lake Regillus, 2. 22, B.C. 495.

multis annis, 'in many years.' The ablative is often thus used when the real idea is duration of time.

§ 11. **neutiquam**: in Plautus and Terence often 'ne utiquam,' by no means, not in any way; utiquam = utique.

parva eadem . . . *mora*, 'parva mora,' ablative. 'eadem,' nominative, repeating 'vis,' 'while at the same time it would fade with a slight delay.'

§ 12. *carpere* = to criticise.
communiter, 'as a class.'

§ 13. *interdiu*; supra 12, the dissatisfaction had first been shown among the 'stationes' and 'vigiliae.'

§ 14. *circulis*, 'knots of men.' Cp. Cic. Balb. 26. 57 'in convivii rodent, in circulis vellicant.'

principiis, 'the central space.' It was an open space measured out in front of the commander's tent ('praetorium') to which the troops could be brought when occasion required. It naturally varied in size according to the number of soldiers in camp. Tac. Ann. 1. 61 'prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant.' It was square, answering some of the purposes of a forum in a city, having the tribunal, the eagles, the quarters of the legates and officers.

verba faceret. Oratio Obliqua of imperative, 'let Sex. Tullius be spokesman for the army, as his merits entitled him to be.' Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 26 'responsum est a contione mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret.'

Chap. 13, § 1. *Septimum*, 'for the seventh time.'

primum pilum. The 'primus pilus' was the division of the 'triarii' in the Roman army. The chief centurion of this division was in later times called 'primipilus' or 'primopilus': infra 41. 5 'primus centurio erat, quem nunc primipili appellant,' i.e. centurionem primi pili.

tribunal, 'the platform;' from this the general addressed his soldiers or dispensed justice.

§ 3. *scilicet*, to explain 'miranti,' 'do not wonder,' 'no doubt you wonder.' (Weiss.)

condemnatum ignaviae, sc. crimine.

sine armis, figurative; infra 6.

§ 4. *sicubi loco cessum*: 'esse a nobis,' 'if retreat from any post.'

abolere flagitii memoriam. Compare the mutinous troops in Tac. Ann. 1. 49 'cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris.'

§ 6. *et hostes*, 'on the one hand, the enemy.'

quod aegrius, 'and this is harder to bear.'

mancorum, 'maimed.' Juv. 3. 48 'Mancus et exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae.'

§ 7. *compressis*, 'with hands folded.' *ut aiunt*, as the proverb says. *verius* = *aquius*.

§ 8. *publicum consilium*, 'policy of state,' 'political device.' Supra 12. 12 'patres communiter increpare.'

quis tandem, in questions 'tandem' = pray.

§ 9. *nos*. Madvig prints 'non,' apparently a printer's mistake unnoticed.

educat . . . pugnaturos, 'let him lead us out, and we will fight.'

§ 10. *Hæc dicta sint*, 'imagine this said.'

laurea; cp. Cicero's well-known line 'concedat laurea linguae' (var. *lec.* 'laudi'). Sueton. Tib. 17 'urbem praetextatus et laurea coronatus intravit.'

§ 11. *exceperunt*, 'the speech was seconded by.'

Chap. 14, § 1. *exemplo haud probabili*, 'by a precedent that would not be approved.'

se recepit, 'engaged,' 'promised.' Weissenborn quotes Cic. Fam. 13. 72 'si neque de fide barbarorum quidquam recipere aut affirmare nobis potes.'

res, 'the movement.'

§ 2. *auctoribus*, 'its leaders.'

§ 3. *nihil non*, 'personally he would not act except at the bidding.' *haberet*, 'keep.'

§ 4. *Gallo*, dative after *ademerunt*, as 'concitatae multitudini subtraxisse'; supra 2.

statione, 'picket,' 'out-post.'

§ 5. *Tullii fides*: (1) confidence in Tullius; (2) the truth of what he said, his good faith.

§ 6. *ut qui*, 'feeling that.'

arte, 'stratagem.'

sollers: 'sollers' = *totus, ars*. His stratagem was according to some historians partly reproduced at the battle of Bannockburn.

§ 7. *strata*, 'their housings,' 'saddles.'

centunculis, 'saddle-cloth'; diminutive of 'cento' = patchwork, therefore here party-coloured cloths.

agaso (ago), 'grooms.'

ornatos = equipped.

§ 8. *His fere*, 'having made about 1000 of these.'

§ 9. *adversus*, 'fronting,' 'facing.'

Chap. 15, § 3. *tantos stimulos*, 'such strong incentives.'

alienatis a memoria, 'totally forgetting.'

vecors. Madvig, 've'; the particle apparently means 'out,' and is used as a negative or intensive; 've-grandis,' 've-pallidus,' 'vestigo.' Cp. the German 'ver.'

avertit, as frequently = routs.

§ 5. *obliquo monte*, 'in a slanting direction down the mountain.'

§ 8. *saxo quadrato*, 'enclosed in hewn stone.'

§ 10. *ibi*: apud Tarquinienses, 'in that quarter.'

tantum cladis, 'their loss on the field was not so terrible as the fact that.' Weissenborn quotes 37. 51. 9 'non tantum gaudium attulerunt, quam averterant famam.'

immolarunt, the regular word for sacrifices. It is sometimes used generally = to slay. Virg. Aen. 12. 949 '*Pallas te hoc vulnere . . . immolat*;' but the repetition, *infra* 19. 3, shows that it has its special sense here. Herod. 1. 167.

qua foeditate, 'by reason of this horrible punishment.'

§ 11. *duae tribus*, making the total twenty-seven; 6. 5. 8.

§ 12. *de ambitu*, 'bribery'; as a general term it included all undue influence, &c. exercised at an election. One of the latest laws against 'corruption,' which was always rife at Rome, is the law passed by Cicero, and referred to *Pro Planc.* 34 '*me mea lege exsilio ambitum sanxisse*.' The other chief laws are the *Calpurnia*, *Caecilia*, *Fabia*, *Iulia*, *Licinia*. From '*ambi-eo*,' a going round, canvassing.

§ 13. *novorum hominum*; *supra* 1. 1.

nundinas, 'the market days,' held at intervals of nine days (*novem dies*). Used to denote the time, place, and business of the markets.

conciliabula, 'places of public gathering,' 'market places.'

Chap. 16, § 1. *unciarium fenus*. See Orelli on Tac. Ann. 6. 16 '*duodecim tabulis sancitum, ne quis variario fenore amplius exerceret*.' It is an *uncia* or $\frac{1}{12}$ of an *As* per annum as interest, reckoned on the old year of ten months = $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., and on the twelve months = 10 per cent. The *As* is taken as the unit (for which in interest we take 100), and as in the ten months the *As* received $\frac{1}{12}$, reckoning from 100, $\frac{1}{12}$ would equal $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; therefore in a year of twelve months '*unciarium fenus*' = 10 per cent. Forcellini and others explain it as = 12 per cent. It is curious that Livy should say nothing about this law of the Twelve Tables, which is quoted only by Tacitus. The difficulties encountered in the attempt to regulate the rate of interest are well illustrated in Cic. ad Att. 5. 21. 11.

§ 2. *ad* = *praeter*. (Weiss.)

crimine, here = offence. (Weiss.)

§ 3. *nihil in publicum*, contrasting with the conduct of Camillus, 5. 20.

§ 4. *inquit* after *exclamat* is pleonastic, 1. 45. 6; 8. 9. 4. (Weiss.) *navaturos*, connected with '*navus*' ('*gnavus*,' cp. '*ignavus*') and *πρηνέσσω*; = to act vigorously.

§ 5. *celsi*, 'proud,' 'triumphant.'

Sex. Tullius; *supra* 13. 14.

§ 6. *fusum*, 'hostem.'

§ 7. *novo exemplo*. The precedent was not followed; but the fact that personal voting was necessary in Rome often made its '*comitia*' only half express the feelings of the whole body of '*cives*.' *Infra* 8.

viocesima, '5 per cent.'

manumitterentur. The word is compounded from the actual

ceremony 'per vindictam,' the liberating rod with which the freed slave was touched and sent away.

§ 8. *sevocaret*, 'summon the people (to a 'comitia') apart,' i. e. away from Rome. Weissenborn quotes Cic. Mur. 7. 15 'facis ut rursus plebs in Aventinum sevocanda esse videatur.'

capite sanxerunt, 'made it a capital offence,' made a penal law involving loss of 'caput.'

nihil enim non, 'for (they said) anything in the world could be passed by soldiers who had sworn obedience to the consul.' Polyb. 6. 21 quotes the words of the oath *ἡ μὴν πειθαρχήσῃν καὶ ποιήσῃν τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατὰ δύναμιν*.

§ 9. *sua lege*; 6. 35. 5 'ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret.'

emancipando; when the son ceased to be in the 'potestas' of his father he became 'sui iuris,' and could be a 'paterfamilias' in his own right. Obviously Licinius' emancipation of his son was only colourable and fraudulent.

Chap. 17, § 3. *Inde . . . quod*, 'from the following fact, that.'

facibus: 4. 33, the Fidenates rush out; 'multitudo facibus ardentibus tota collucens, velut fanatico instincta cursu in hostem ruit.'

praelatis, 'held in front,' 'brandished.'

lymphati, 'distracted,' 'out of their senses.'

§ 4. *paventes*, 'jeered at them for being frightened like children at unreal terrors.'

§ 5. *apparatum*, 'the device.'

increpantes, 'gibing at.'

§ 6. *ad Salinas*; infra 19. 8 'circa Romanas salinas,' and 5. 45. 8.

primus de plebe dictator; B.C. 356. The 'magister equitum C. Licinius' was also 'de plebe' 6. 39. 3.

§ 7. *ferente*, 'proposing.'

§ 8. *utraque parte*, 'on both banks of the Tiber,' with *oppressit*, &c.

§ 9. *sine auctoritate*, 'without their (formal) ratification.'

§ 10. Though the plebs had succeeded in electing men of their own rank, the patres evidently retained abundant means of interfering, and depriving them of the fruits of their success. In the interregnum the patres appointed the interreges.

§ 12. *siebat*; cp. 6. 1. 10. It would be easy to make this assertion if all the laws were not published to the people but kept back by the pontifices and patres.

quodcumque, 'whatever final decision the people arrived at, that should be legal and binding.'

iussum . . . esse, 'here they had (he said) the order and votes of the people.'

Chap. 18, § 3. *Fidei*. (The consuls thought it) 'a question of their honour, not merely of their courage.'

ut, 'as.'

§ 4. *quin*, 'indeed,' 'moreover.'

a *patribus*, 'from their fathers;' 4. 2. 4 'quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent.'

§ 5. *in parte censori*. Cic. Flacc. 32. 80 'in tribu censere.' (Weiss.) *obtinere*, 'keep,' 'retain.'

§ 7. *quam* (ut) *videant*; 4. 2. 10 'potius quam paterentur,' *et saep. nusquam alio*=for no other purpose, literally, in no other direction=ad nullam aliam rem, 4. 54. 7. (Weiss.)

§ 9. *in campum descensum*; cp. Hor. Odes 3. 1. 10:—

'Descendat in campum petitor.'

So 'in forum,' 'in comitia descendere,' and Cic. Phil. 2. 6. 15 'hodie non descendit Antonius.'

per *seditiones*, 'in quarrelling,' 'rioting.'

§ 10. a *parte*, 'by half the people.'

per *infrequentiam*, 'during their absence,' cp. 5. 2. 5. In the 'comitia centuriata' it was not necessary for all the 'centuriae' to appear, provided the necessary majority (i.e. more than half the centuriae) was obtained. (Weiss.)

Chap. 19, § 1. *in fidem consulis*, 'under the protection of,' 'thrown themselves on his mercy.' Cp. Cic. Phil. 6. 12 'qui vos in fidem suam recepit.'

§ 2. *alioquin*, 'in other respects.' Cp. 37. 46 'milites tantum, qui sequerentur curram, defuerunt: alioquin magnificus triumphus fuit.'

saevitum in; 1. 1 'Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos.' The punishment inflicted may be compared with the decree against Mitylene (Thuc. 3. 136) and the treatment of Melos (5. ad fin.).

vulgus aliud, 'the mass of the populace.'

§ 3. *immolatis*; supra 15. 10.

§ 5. *nexum*, 'were entering into slavery.' The 'nexum' was the condition of a 'nexus' (=addictus) debtor.

prae, 'in comparison with,' 'considering.'

§ 6. *convertere*, 'turned them to,' 'called their attention to.'

§ 7. *utroque*, 'for each district;' ablative like quo, eo, alio.

§ 8. *litteris*, 'a despatch.'

salinas; cp. 5. 45. 8, note.

eius populi: Caerites.

§ 9. *revocatum*: because the dictator was originally appointed within the limits of the city; supra 12. 9. (Weiss.)

Chap. 20, § 1. *vis maior*, 'more weight,' 'more reality.'

quam non, &c., 'how a struggle with Rome was beyond their own strength.'

§ 2. *pro se quisque*, 'unanimously,' 'one and all.'

§ 3. *reiecti*; 5. 22. 1 'ad senatum rem arbitrii sui reiecisset,' and 4. 7. 5.

sacra . . . *accepta*; 5. 50. 3 'cum Caeretibus hospitium publice fieret, quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset.'

florentes, 'now in prosperity.'

Vestae; 5. 40. 7 'Flamen Quirinalis virginesque Vestales;' ib. 10 'virgines Caere pervexit.'

cultum, 'observed,' 'shown.'

§ 5. *Eane meritos*, 'could any one believe that those who had rendered such services.'

locata, from the sense of 'let out to him;' cp. the French '*placer*' = to invest.

appellanda, 'ought to be called.'

§ 6. *agmine infesto*, 'with an invading army.'

praeter viam nihil, 'nothing but a right of way.' Compare the operations of Brasidas and his march through Thessaly, Thuc. 4. 78.

sibi, the '*legati Caeritum*.'

§ 7. *deversorium*, halting-place, a place to which one turns from the road, in order to rest; an inn, lodging-place.

darent hospitio, 'let them grant Caere to the welcome shown,' i.e. forgive Caere for the sake of.

§ 8. *indutias referri*, 'that they should take back (to Caere) a truce for 100 years according to a decree of the senate.' Literally, should be entered as a '*senatus consultum*.' Madvig suggests 'in aes referri.' Weissenborn quotes Strabo 5. 2. 3 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πολιτείαν δόντες οὐκ ἐνέγραψαν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσονομίας εἰς τὰς δέλτους ἐξέριζον τὰς τῶν Καυρετανῶν*. The names of the '*aerarii*' were put on these lists, 4. 24. 7. They lost their political independence and had to pay the taxes, &c. as ordinary citizens, but were '*cives sine suffragio*,' not members of a tribe, with no rights of voting; 8. 14. 10 '*civitas sine suffragio data*;' Gell. 16. 13. 7 '*primos municipes sine suffragii iure Caerites esse factos accepimus*.'

§ 9. *aedes Apollinis*; cp. 4. 29. 7. Probably the temple was destroyed in the Gallic War. (Weiss.)

Chap. 21, § 1. *obstinato*, with infinitive, as in 9. 25. 6 '*obstinatos claudere, si exercitus admoveatur*.'

totum, 'wholly.'

§ 2. *Prolato*, frequentative of '*profero*.'

abisset. The limitation of the dictator's tenure of office was to six months (Mommsen, Book II, chap. 1). Frequently the actual duration was much shorter, 9. 18. 13 '*denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam (gesserunt)*.'

§ 3. *iactabant*, 'held out (as their pretext).'

propior, 'more nearly affecting.'

curae, 'troubles.'

§ 4. *Rutilus*. First plebeian dictator, supra 17. 6.

§ 5. *fenebrem rem*. Tac. Ann. 6. 16 'sane vetus urbi fenebre malum, et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.'

una, 'principally,' 'only.'

in publicam curam, 'made a matter of state policy.' Weissenborn quotes 2. 49. 1 'Veiens bellum in privatam curam versum.'

mensarii, and 23. 21 'mensarii triumviri.' Tac. Ann. 6. 17 'disposito per mensas millies sestertio.' Not to be confounded with the private bankers of a later date. They are a special extraordinary commission of five members.

dispensatione. The manager of the imperial treasury was called 'dispensator,' *διοικητής*; and cp. Juv. 1. 91 'dispensatore armigero.'

§ 6. *autem, οὐν, τοίνυν*.

§ 7. *alia*, 'by their general.'

impendio, 'more by disbursements at the expense of the state than by extravagance (actual loss).'

§ 8. *nomina*, 'accounts,' 'debtors.' Seneca has the phrase 'lenta nomina non mala.'

inertia, ablative.

aerarium, subject of 'dissolvit.'

mensis, &c. Tac. l. c. supra § 5.

ut populo, 'provided that security were previously given to the state.' Tac. l. c. 'si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset' = ita tamen ut.

aestimatio, 'a valuation (and sale) of their property at fair prices' = *aequis pretiis aestimatione a mensariis constitutis*. (Weiss.)

exhausta, 'cancelled,' 'paid off.'

§ 9. *Terror vanus*, 'a false alarm.'

dictator, from 22. 10 the real reason of his appointment was to stop the election of a plebeian consul. (Weiss.)

Chap. 22, § 1. *tentatum domi*, 'the attempt in the city,' supra 8. 5 'diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem.'

§ 5. *cuius lentae*, &c., 'wearied by this as by a slow disease.' For the double metaphor Weissenborn quotes 5. 43. 7.

§ 6. *dum . . . esset*, 'while there was.' The subjunctive because the clause depends on *censum agi placuit*.

mutaverat dominos, by 'emptio' and 'venditio.' The census would include a statement of each person's property, and thus assist the assessment of 'tributum.' Tac. Ann. l. c.

§ 7. *professus*, 'declaring himself a candidate for;' cp. Sueton. Aug. 4 'se candidatum consulatus professus.'

§ 8. *tempore alieno*, 'at a wrong time.' Cic. Verr. 1. 5 'ad iudicium corruptendum tempus alienum.'

rationem habituros; 3. 64. 5.

§ 9. *inceptum*, 'gained his end.'

recuperaturi, 'wishing to regain.'

nullius honoris, 'was equal to any office no matter how distinguished.'

in partem vocari, 'to be made open to them.' 'In partem vocare aliquem' = to call upon some one to take a share.

§ 11. *eum consensum*, 'their combination to set aside the Licinian law.' (Weiss.)

Chap. 23, § 2. *extra ordinem*, 'as a special command.'

§ 3. *porta Capena*. Near the Circus Maximus, leading to the Via Appia. Near this was the 'lucus et fons Egeriae,' where Numa met the goddess who guided him, Juv. 3. 11 'veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.'

quaestores. This was one of their duties, as guardians of the treasury.

§ 4. *auctor patribus*, 'advising the senate to raise.' Weissenborn quotes 9. 4. 8 'se non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae patriae.'

exercitus, quod . . . subsidium; cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 22. 54 'Cn. Pompeii, quod imperii Populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit.'

§ 5. *vallum ducere*. So 'ducere parietem,' 'muros,' 'fossam,' 'arcum' are used.

§ 6. *avidus ad*; 22. 21. 2 'avidus in novas res.' (Weiss.)

ut initura (gens), 'intending to begin.'

tegi, middle use, 'were protecting themselves.'

truci clamore; cp. 5. 37. 8 'truci cantu.'

§ 7. *muniebant*, 'were erecting the fortifications.'

pro = in front of.

intenti, 'ready (for battle).'

§ 8. *pila*; 9. 19. 7 'pilum haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum.' (Weiss.)

vana, 'without effect.'

librata ponderibus, 'poised,' 'well-balanced.' Cp. Ov. Met. 1. 13 'pendebat in aëre tellus ponderibus librata suis.' Weissenborn adds 30. 10. 13 'gravior ac pondere ipso librator superne ictus erat.'

figerentur, 'shot home,' 'struck home.'

§ 9. *telis*, i.e. of the Romans.

inhaerentibus, sc. *telis*; 38. 37. 1 'inhaerentia corporibus gerentes tela.'

cursu, δρόμῳ.

§ 10. *hosti*, i.e. the Romans.

dare stragem; 6. 25. 3, note. Virg. Aen. 2. 310 :—
'dedit ampla ruinam

Vulcano superante domus.'

obtriti, 'crushed under foot;' Juv. 3. 260 :—

'obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver

More animae.'

Chap. 24, § 1. moles = task, difficulty.

§ 2. *exsuperans*, 'superior to.'

suppresso impetu. Virg. Aen. 3. 378 :—

'retroque pedem cum voce repressit.'

§ 3. *agitat*, 'moving,' 'passing;' absolute. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 50
'laeti neque procul Germani agitabant,' and Sallust.

mataris (*materis*), 'a Celtic pike,' Caesar Bell. Gall. 1. 26. 3
'mataras ac trugulas subiiciebant,' also spelt '*materis*,' Gk. *μάδραψ*.

§ 4. *Iamque omissa erat*, 'was all but lost.'

§ 5. *beluas*; supra 10. 3.

supina valle: 6. 24. 3; 4. 46. 5.

§ 6. *dum stantes*, 'until they fly from you where you are.'

§ 7. *cuneis*. Livy uses the word of the Macedonian phalanx;
32. 17. 11 'quae cuneum Macedonum (phalangem ipsi vocant) vi
perrumperent.'

§ 8. *quibus . . . essent* = for they had. Weissenborn compares
Tac. Germ. 30.

arcem Albanam; supra 11. 7 'Tibur sicut arcem belli Gallici
petunt.' The discontent among the Latins is by these instances clearly
pointed out.

§ 9. *subiicere tumulis*, 'make them force the heights;' literally, to
put his army under heights.

§ 11. *ingenti studio*, 'with great enthusiasm.'

collegam dixit; cp. 37. 47. 7 'Fulvius consul unus creatur, quum
ceteri centurias non explessent; isque postero die . . . collegam dixit,'
i.e. comitiis collegae rogando habitis. The phrase is peculiar: but
there could not have been a co-optation by the consul.

Chap. 25, § 1. *mussantes*. The root is 'mu,' cp. Gk. *μύω, μύω*;
Virg. Aen. 11. 454 :—

'Flent maesti mussantque patres.'

§ 2. *privata*, 'degraded more by his personal ambition than by the
wrong done to the state.' The '*cupiditas*' is his feeling as an individual,
not in his official capacity. (Weiss.)

§ 3. *vim* = the cold.

classibus Graecorum; infra 26. 15, they were probably from
Sicily; 5. 28. 2 'piratae Liparensium.'

ora litoris: 38. 18. 12 'alterius orae litora;' Tac. Ann. 2. 78
'vitare litorum oram.'

Laurens tractus, 'the Laurentian district.' Laurentum was a town just south of Ostia and north of Lavinium. The adjective is used by Virgil = Latina; Aen. 7. 661 'Laurentia victor . . . attigit arva.'

§ 4. **congressi cum**, 'engaging (in battle) with.' 'Congredi' is the regular word for military movements; supra 22. 4 'nusquam acie congresso hoste,' and *passim*.

dubii (utrum) se victos, &c. So 'utrum' is commonly omitted after 'incertus.'

§ 5. **lucum Ferentinae**; compare the 'concilia' of the Volsci 'ad fanum Voltumnæ.' The Ferentina Aqua was a river near Alba Longa, 1. 51. 9 'Latinorum concilium advocatur . . . ad caput aquæ Ferentinae.'

imperantibus milites. In this sense, the verb is also used in the passive; 40. 34. 9 'arma imperata a populo Romano.'

absisterent, 'responsum datum est ut;'; the imperfect subjunctive of Oratio Obliqua = imperative.

§ 7. **extendere**, 'to put forth,' 'exercise all the power of their position' (as 'imperatores,' holding 'imperium').

civili, of Roman 'cives.'

§ 8. **quaternum**, &c., '4200 infantry each.' The proper complement of a legion was between 4200 and 6000 men.

§ 9. **nunc** = hodie, in our own time.

novum, 'freshly raised.' In addition to the standing armies in Germany and the provinces, and to the 'urbanae cohortes,' &c.

capit, 'contains.'

adeo, 'so fatally have we increased only in riches and extravagance, the sole objects of our energies.' Preface 12 'nuper divitiæ avaritiæ et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere.' Weissenborn quotes 21. 7. 3 'in opes creverant;'; Quint. 8. 2. 18 'in hoc malum laboratur;'; Senec. de Ira 3. 41 'nihil in famam laboremus;'; Stat. Theb. 5. 200 'vigilant in scelus.'

§ 11. **vel ob aliam**, 'either generally, because of his distinguished rank, could not be put below the dictatorship,' i.e. a dictator would not be appointed to supersede one so distinguished.

arrogari, 'taken in his place,' as in the adopting of a person 'sui iuris,' the man adopted was taken into the place of a child.

§ 12. **extra sortem**, 'without balloting for it;'; 6. 30. 3 'provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione extra ordinem data.'

§ 13. **prohibendo**, 'preventing them from,' 'stopping their plundering.'

rapto vivere. Virg. Aen. 7. 748:—

'semperque recentes

Convectare iuvat prædas et vivere rapto.'

Chap. 26, § 1. **quatiens**, 'beating,' 'striking.'

§ 3. *numine*, 'agency.'

§ 4. *precatus*, sc. 'est.'

praepetem: as adjective = swift; substantive, 'a bird.' *Servius* derives it either 'quia omnes aves priora petunt volantes; vel a Graeco *πρόμας*, id est volo.'

§ 5. *captam sedem*. *Virg. Aen. i. 395*:—

'nunc terras ordine longo

Aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur.'

oculis ac mente, 'blinded and confused.'

§ 6. *ocior*; cp. Greek *ἀκρίς*, acer, acutus.

§ 7. *manipulis*: literally, a handful, bundle, e.g. of hay; *Juv. 8. 153*:—

'maniplos

Solvat et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.'

The Romans had a pole with a bundle of hay as a standard; hence the word is transferred to the soldiers belonging to this standard, 'companies.'

praesentibus, present as 'aiding,' 'favouring.' *Juv. 3. 18*:—

'quanto praesentius esset

Numen aquae.'

catervas. Used by other writers of the loose array of barbarians as distinct from the Roman 'legio.'

§ 8. *adeo praeceperat*, 'so accurately had each army grasped the meaning of.'

§ 9. *alia multitudo*, 'the bulk of the army;' 'multitudo' is used of the Gauls, *supra 24. 2*.

mare superum, 'the Adriatic.'

§ 10. *aurea corona*; *supra 10. 14*.

§ 11. *segnitia*, 'reluctance,' 'inactivity.'

§ 12. *sui*, 'his,' i.e. the dictator's.

id cognominis = id cognomen.

tres et viginti, the 'leges annales' 40. 44. 1, settled the legal age before which a *civis* could not be elected consul.

renuntiavit, sc. *populo*, 'formally announced.'

§ 13. *nec Romanus mari*. The first admiral of the Roman fleet who defeated the Carthaginians by sea was C. Duilius, B.C. 261.

§ 15. *Maxime crediderim*, 'I should incline to believe.'

ulterior Graecia, Greece Proper. The date, being about B.C. 349, coincides with the period of Philip of Macedon, and is fifty years after the Peloponnesian War, which had been followed by the struggle in which Thebes for a short time obtained the hegemony of Greece.

Chap. 27, § 1. concordia, ablative.

ne nimis; *supra 1. 7*, 'as though some malignant influence were constantly at work.'

decemviris, 'elected according to the proposal of the tribunes,' 6. 42.

§ 2. *Satricum*, 'to Satricum.'

Latini diruerant; 6. 33.

Carthaginieneses; first mentioned here. The treaty would probably refer to commercial matters.

§ 3. *Semunciarium*, 'five per cent.' Cp. supra 16. 1.

ita ut, 'on condition that one-fourth should be paid down.' Cp. '*praesens pecunia*.'

dispensata, 'was divided.' Supra 21. 5.

§ 4. *affected*, 'embarrassed,' a euphemism for 'ruined.'

potior ad. Cic. Fin. 1. 4. 11 '*nulla ad legendum potiora*.' (Weiss.) *superseesum*, 'they refrained from,' 'dispensed with.'

§ 6. *priusquam fieret*, subjunctive, here to give the reason; but Livy as a rule prefers it to the indicative with these conjunctions.

§ 7. *satis firma spe*, ablative absolute, 'finding no real protection in their walls.'

multitudinem imbellem, 'non-combatants;' 5. 40. 4.

§ 8. *ab aede Matutae*; 6. 33, not burnt by the Latins.

habita, 'were reserved.'

venditis; 5. 22. 1 '*libera corpora sub corona vendidit; ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur*.'

§ 9. *servorum*. In the case of Veii, the town had been stormed, not surrendered.

Chap. 28, § 3. *sine vacationibus*; 5. 8. 2, here = exemption.

animi, 'a state of brigandage rather than of war.'

debellatum, 'the war was concluded.' Virg. Aen. 6. 854 '*debellare superbos*.'

§ 4. *ultro*, 'unprovoked.'

sine detrectatione, 'unhesitatingly.'

inter ipsam dimicationem. Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator in the final battle with the Sabines, 1. 12.

Iunoni Monetæ; 6. 20. 13.

damnatus voti, 'bound to fulfil this vow.' 5. 25. 4, and Virg. Aen. 5. 237 '*voti reus*.' Cic. Legg. 2. 16. 41 '*voti sponsio, qua deo obligamur*.'

§ 5. *aedium M. Manlii*; 6. 20. 13 '*latum ad populum est, ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret*.'

§ 6. *Monetæ*. Ov. Fast. 6. 183:—

'*Arce quoque in summa Iunoni templa Monetæ*

Ex voto memorant facta Camille tuo.' (Weiss.)

§ 7. *montis Albani prodigio*; 1. 31, in the reign of Tullus, 'in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse.' Cp. 22. 1, for similar prodigies, '*Praeneste ardentis lapides caelo cecidisse . . . solis orbem minui visum*.'

feriae, connected with root of 'fes-tus.'

§ 8. *supplicatum*, often also of thanksgiving for success; e.g. 3. 63. 5 'gemina victoria parta senatus in unum diem supplicationes decrevit. Populus . . . frequens iit supplicatum.'

§ 9. *tristia*, 'severe.' The first instance of penalties inflicted on lenders of money, probably under the law *supra* 16. 1.

ulla insigni, 'for no specially recorded reason.'

§ 10. *ut id actum*, 'so that it might seem that this was the object (of the interregnum, to elect two patrician consuls).'

Chap. 20, § 1. *iam hinc*. Compare the opening of Book II 'Liberi iam hinc populi Romani,' &c.

§ 2. *Pyrrhus*, about B.C. 280, sixty years after the present date. The decade XI—XX in which this war was narrated is lost.

Poeni. The first Punic War began B.C. 263; Carthage was destroyed B.C. 146.

vix sustinetur. Preface 4 'ut iam magnitudine laboret sua;' but the empire lasted nearly four centuries after Livy's time.

§ 3. *extrinsecus*, 'from outside.'

§ 4. *inopes*, 'the Sidicini, in their difficulties.'

§ 5. *fluentes*, 'enervated.' Cp. 'fluens mollitiei,' and Tac. Hist. 3. 76 'duces noctu dieque fluxi.' See Cic. Tusc. 2. 22. 52; Off. 1. 30. 106.

duratis usu, 'hardened by practice.'

molem, 'brunt.'

§ 6. *unde*, 'over whom.'

Tifata, accusative plural, the name of the mountain ridge.

quadrato agmine, 'in regular array,' so that the army formed a parallelogram.

Chap. 30, § 1. *petitum*, supine.

§ 2. *coepta*, sc. *esset*.

tunc, 'in that case.'

ut qui, 'because we should have remembered.'

ex aequo, 'on equal terms.'

subiecti . . . obnoxii, 'submissive and obedient.'

§ 3. *conciliati*, 'won.'

colamus, 'respect.'

§ 4. *ad id . . . ne*. 'I do not think this fact prevents . . .' With the arguments, compare the speeches of the Corinthian and Corcyraean envoys at Athens, Thuc. 1. 32.

neque enim, 'and indeed no stipulation was made.'

§ 5. *eum*, subject of 'velle.'

appeteret, 'who came to you,' 'applied to you.'

§ 6. *urbis amplitudine*. Florus 1. 11. 6 'ipsa caput urbium Capua, quondam inter tres maximas numerata.' (Weiss.)

bonis rebus vestris, 'to your prosperity.'

§ 7. *ab tergo erimus*. Campania was the district south of and adjoining Latium.

§ 8. *spondet*, 'guarantee.'
continens, 'uninterrupted.'

§ 9. *amicorum*, &c., sc. numero, 'we Campanians must be either (in the number of) your friends or your enemies.'

§ 10. *Samnitium erimus* = we shall belong to.

§ 11. *qui*, &c., 'who while granting it (pity and assistance) beyond their strength to the entreaties of others.' Cp. Thuc. 1. c.

ante omnes ipsi. Madvig adopts 'ante,' added by Buettner, 'of all persons.'

§ 12. *nefario latrocinio*; supra 4 'iniusta arma.'

§ 14. *ultio irae*, 'the satisfaction of rage.'
parum fuit, 'has it been too little (to satisfy their rage).'
occidere from *caedo*.

§ 15. *huc*, 'to this;' cp. 'huc accedebat.'

§ 16. *rapit*; sc. 'Samnites.'

Capua; 4. 37. 1 'Vulturnum, Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam.'

§ 18. *escendit*, northwards.
umbra; 32. 21 'sub umbra auxilii vestri latere volunt.' (Weiss.)

§ 19. *vobis frequentabitur*, 'to you its population shall be dedicated.' *arabitur*, 31. 1.

numero, 'in the place of.' Cic. in Caecil. 19. 61 'in parentis numero haberi.'

§ 20. *Annuite nutum*, 'grant your assent and express your sovereign will.' For 'numen' of other things than gods, cp. Plin. Ep. 9. 27. 1 'quantum denique numen sit historiae.' Virg. Aen. 12. 187:—

'... nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem.'

Livy 8. 34. 2 'dictatoris imperium pro numine semper observatum.'

§ 21. *prosequente*, of attending in procession; 5. 40 'agmen in-venum prosequabantur in Capitolium atque in arcem.'

§ 22. *animi*, locative case.

§ 23. *ominari*, 'prognosticate.'
nusquam ullis, 'utterly annihilated.'

Chap. 31, § 1. *Summotis legatis*; cp. Thuc. 1. 79 *μεταστησάμενοι πάντας (τοὺς πρέσβεις) ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων*.

ad varietates annonae, 'to meet the vicissitudes of the harvest.' Weissenborn quotes Florus 1. 11. 3 'omnium non modo Italiae sed toto orbe pulcherrima Campania plaga est, nihil mollius caelo, nihil uberius solo.'

fides = to their treaty with the Samnites.

§ 2. *ita* ... *ne qua*, 'only on condition of not breaking.'

§ 4. *quicquid*, 'and so, whatever we suffer, it will be your surrendered subjects who suffer.'

§ 6. *vice*, 'at the change,' 'the vicissitudes.'
luxuria. Virg. Georg. 2. 224 'dives Capua.'
infractos, 'crushed.'

§ 7. *fides agi*, 'to be a question of honour.'
populi Romani, 'the property of...'

§ 8. *memor*, neuter, with *responsum*.
exponerent; 5. 36. 9 'Legati Gallorum quum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent.'

§ 9. *pro*, 'in the name of.'

§ 11. *agentibus*, 'stating.'
stantibus legatis, 'while the envoys stood there.'

concilio. The nations are the Hirpini, Caudini, Pentri, Caraceni. (Weiss.)

magistratus; 8. 39. 12 'praetores.'

Chap. 32, § 1. *relata*, i.e. the news of this embassy, its report brought to Rome.

sollemni more. The customs to be observed are in 1. 32. 5. The 'fetialis' carried a blood-stained spear to the borders of the land against which war was to be declared, and in the presence of at least three 'puberes' declared war on behalf of the Roman people; and, finally, hurled the spear into their country.

§ 3. *eo*=to that district, Campania.

tam promptos, 'because of their readiness.'

nunc . . . *nunc*, 'first . . . afterwards.'

ferenda, when they helped the Sidicini. *accersenda*, when they invited the Romans.

§ 4. *duces*. The word implies that there was no regular commander or chief magistrate over the Samnites.

Sidicino; supra 29. 5, 7.

§ 6. *quicquid longius* = *quo longius*, 'the further they advanced.'

§ 7. *qualescunque*, &c., 'however brave the combatants might be, one or the other side must be conquered.'

fluentibus rebus, 'strength wasting,' supra 29. 5.

§ 8. *adversus*, 'to set against all the glories.'

annos. The date is A.U.C. 411.

§ 9. *Auruncos*; supra 28.

in mare; supra 26. 9 'Galli . . . inde Apuliam ac mare superum petierunt.'

§ 10. *quemque fretos*. Compare the Greek *ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ τάξει*, and our phrase 'they each.'

uius ductu. This is M. Valerius Corvus.

§ 11. *audiendus*, 'if only to be heard could harangue in fine language.'

expers, 'ignorant of' (from *ex-pars*).

§ 12. **disciplinam**, 'teaching.'
coitiones, 'cabals,' 'intrigues.'

hac dextra; supra 26. 12.

§ 13. **enim**, 'yes, you were;' lit. ellipse, 'you were made consul because,' &c.

patricius, the personal rank.

liberatoribus; 2. 2. 11 'collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis (Brutus) creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.'

ista, 'your family.'

§ 14. **summum quodque decus**, 'look at all my highest honours,' more especially the consulship.

§ 15. **Publicolarum**; 2. 8. 1 'inde cognomen factum Publicolae est.'

§ 16. **eodem tenore**, 'consistently.'

colo, 'study the good of.'

§ 17. **quod instat**, 'to deal with what is before us.'

integrum, 'a maiden triumph.'

Chap. 33, § 1. familiarior, 'on better terms with.'

haud gravate, 'without reluctance,' 'ungrudgingly.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 100 (of Marius) 'castra munire, . . . ipse circumire . . . uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset.'

§ 2. **In ludo militari**. Compare the athletic contests in Xen. Exped. Cyri, Book 4. 8. 25 seq.

aequales, 'men matched,' 'competitors.'

facilis, 'courteous and good-natured.'

parem, 'any match.' Hor. Sat. 1. 7. 19:—

'Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non

Compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius.'

Sat. 2. 6. 20 'Threx est Gallina Syro par?'

§ 3. **pro re**, 'to suit the occasion.'

dignitatis memor. Tac. Hist. 5. 1 'comitate et adloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in agmine gregario milite mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.' (Weiss.)

artibus, 'qualities.'

§ 5. **ut quod maxime unquam** = more than any other.

§ 6. **novae res gestae**, 'their late success.'

aequalis, 'coeval.' Supra 32. 8.

§ 9. **tumultuantes volvere turmas**, 'fruitlessly manœuvring in disorder.'

antesignanos, 'hastati et principes:' supra 8. 8; 4. 37. 11. (Weiss.)
Nostrum, 'of us.'

§ 10. **Agite dum**, 'Forward, then!'

§ 11. **discurrunt**, 'ride back,' 'divide.'

in *mediam aciem*, 'leave the way clear to attack the enemy's centre.'

§ 12. *memorandum*, 'fight in a manner not to be forgotten.'

obnixi, 'resolute,' 'holding their ground.'

§ 13. *circa signa*; 8. 11. 7 'et ante signa et post signa.' (Weiss.)
nulladum, 'none as yet.' 3. 50. 16.

§ 15. *apparuit*, 'it became clear that they were retiring.'

Samnis, nominative singular.

§ 16. *prima* = *imprimis*, *praecipue*.

§ 17. *ardere*; 6. 13. 2.

Chap. 34, § 1. *foedatum*, 'marred.'

cava valle pervium, 'a pass leading through a deep valley.'

§ 3. *id morae . . . quoad*, 'while the Samnites were only waiting until.'

demitteret, sc. *Romanus consul*.

imminentem, 'which commanded.'

§ 4. *animi*, locative; cp. *aeger animi*, *felix*, *victus*, *praestans*, *promptus*, *ingens*, *fidens animi*.

§ 5. *subiectus*, 'at our mercy,' 'exposed to our fire.'

perniciē, (*pernex*), utter destruction.

§ 6. *expediet*, 'will release us,' 'bring us out.'

§ 7. *praesidio*, 'a detachment.'

§ 8. *paventibus*, 'excited.' Cp. *Hor. Ep. 1. 6. 2* '*pavor est utrobique molestus*,' of '*admiratio*' and '*cupido*.' Weissenborn adds *Ov. Fast. 3. 362* '*sollicitae mentis spequē metuque pavent*.'

§ 9. *huc illuc*, 'to and fro.'

utriusque rei, 'of attacking the consul, and of stopping the manœuvre of Decius.'

§ 10. *fortunam gerendae rei*, 'had wrested from them their chance of success.'

§ 11. *oppressit*, 'came upon them (and prevented further action).'

§ 12. *opere*, 'entrenchments'; 5. 19. 10, &c.

§ 13. *illa*, 'of the enemy.'

in unum conferri, 'concentrated.' (Weiss.)

§ 14. *Tum vero* = *τοιγαροῦν*, 'we shall indeed be.'

§ 15. *sagulo gregali*, 'the common soldier's cloak.' Cf. 21. 4 '*militari sagulo opertum, humi iacentem* (*Hannibalem*).'

habitu, 'in the dress of.'

Chap. 35, § 1. *tesseram*, a square tablet on which the watchword was written; here = word to be sent round that they should assemble.

bucina, ablative; literally, cow-horn (*bos-cano*). It was regularly used for the '*vigiliae*:' hence 26. 15. 6 '*ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent*.'

- § 2. *omisso*, 'without the usual applause.'
quae pars, 'we will act upon the opinion of the majority.'
- § 4. *digni estis qui*, 'you are not men to require.'
- § 5. *socordiam*, from 'se' = sine, 'cor.'
captum, sc. 'esset' or 'viderunt captum esse.'
- § 6. *ipse*, 'hostis,' at the same time.
quum, 'although.'
- oportet . . . immo*, 'ought, nay must.'
- § 8. *animos*, 'courage to use them well.'
nihil reliqui fecerit, 'has left you nothing.'
moriendum sit after *quum*.
- § 11. *silentio incautos*, 'either silently escaping them off their guard.'
- pedibus*; cp. '*pedibus ire in sententiam*.'
- Chap. 36, § 1. *intermissa*, 'the spaces left between the sentry posts.'
- § 2. *evaserant*, 'they had cleared.' Virg. Aen. 6. 425:—
'Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undae.'
- offenso*, 'by striking,' 'stumbling against.' Sall. Jug. 94. 1 '*scuto offenso quo levius streperent*.'
- erumperet* after *ignari* (utrum).
- § 3. *quoniam non fallerent*, 'since his men were perceived.'
praepediti = *impediti*, 'fettered,' 'embarrassed.'
- § 5. *macti*; supra 10. 4. Weissenborn reads '*macte*.' Pliny has '*macti ingenio este*.'
- § 7. *tessera data*; supra 35. 1 'sending a token that they were returning safe.'
- § 9. *praetorium*, where the '*principia*' or open space was.
classico. Veget. 2. 22 '*classicum appellatur quod bucinatores per cornu dicunt*.'
- § 10. *omnia posthabendi*, 'advising him to postpone everything.'
castellatim, 'in separate detachments,' as it were in fortresses, to guard the height occupied by Decius.
- § 12. *turbatis*, 'routing the out-posts.'
- § 15. *fugat*, 'frightens.'
cessit, 'fled without seeing the enemy.'
- Chap. 37, § 1. *aurea corona*, &c.; supra, the rewards to T. Manlius Torquatus, and M. Valerius Corvus, 10. 14, and 26. 10.
opimo, 'splendid,' 'embellished with.'
- § 2. *duplici frumento*, 'double rations for ever.'
- Secundum*, 'following,' 'imitating.'
- obsidialem* (also '*obsidionalem*'), for rescuing them from a blockade. Weissenborn quotes Festus, '*obsidionalis corona est quae datur imperatori ei, qui obsidione liberavit ab hostibus obsessos; ea fit*

ex gramine viridi fere ex eo loco decerpto, in quo erant inclusi. Quae corona magnae auctoritatis fuit : nam et P. Decio datae duae sunt : una ab exercitu universo, altera ab his qui fuerunt in praesidio obsessi.

clamore, 'cheers.'

§ 3. *libras farris*. Compare the gifts to M. Manlius Capitolinus ; 5. 47. 8.

indicem, 'proof of the general approval.'

§ 4. *fugatus*, participle, 'which had been routed.'

§ 6. *ut quibus*, 'since the general crowd of baggage, cattle, and camp followers.'

§ 7. *postquam . . . ibat*, 'seeing that no one advanced.'

infestis signis, 'in order of attack.'

§ 8. *colligentes*, 'inferring.'

§ 9. *complendas fossas*. Tac. Ann. 1. 68 'igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniiciunt crates.'

scindendumque vallum. Tac. Ann. 1. 50.

§ 10. *commeatibus gravis*, 'a burden on the commissariat,' 'difficult to provide for.'

inclusus paveret, 'were cowering within their intrenchments.'

§ 12. *infrequentes*, 'with few men in them.'

§ 14. *indagine*. Virg. Aen. 4. 121 :—

'Dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt.'

'Indago,' here as elsewhere, seems to mean the process of catching wild beasts by stopping up the outlets of the woods with nets, men, dogs, &c., Conington. Cp. Tac. Agr. 37.

§ 15. *territis constare*, 'it was not possible for them in their terror to decide.'

§ 16. *scutorum*. Compare the rings said to have been sent by Hannibal to Carthage after the battle of Cannae.

nequaquam, 'though this number was by no means killed.'

Chap. 38, § 2. *Italiae finibus*, 'did not stay within,' 'spread beyond.'

pondo, indecl. = pound (As) weight (literally, by weight).

§ 5. *Iam turn*, 'even in this early time.'

minime salubris, 'anything but beneficial to.'

instrumento, 'by its provision.'

per quod illi ; 4. 37. 2 '(Samnites) cepere autem, prius bello fatigatis Etruscis, in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturna caede adorti.'

§ 6. *cui . . . haberet*. Oratio Obliqua, 'why (they asked).'

§ 7. *pestilenti*, 'because of the inundations,' and cp. 5. 48. 2 '*loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes*' of the Gauls in Rome.

luctari. Lucret. 2. 1160:—

'Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator
Crebrius, incassum manuum cecidisse labores.'

§ 9. *differendo*, i.e. by leaving them to hope that they could put their designs into execution whenever they pleased.

§ 10. *laxamento*, 'respice,' 'indulgence.'

Chap. 39, § 1. *missionibus*, 'by discharging.'

emerita stipendia, 'saying that they had served their time.' So 'emeritus' = a veteran, exempt from service.

graves aetate, 'failing with age.' Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 4 'gravis annis miles.'

§ 2. *commestus*, 'on furlough.'

§ 3. *figendo moras*, 'causas morandi,' as in Virg. Aen. 4. 51 'causasque innecte morandi.'

§ 4. *ludificationis*, 'of the device.'

minime inviti, 'very gladly.'

in *Campania*, i.e. not at Capua but in the country.

§ 5. *quaestiones*, 'judicial inquiries,' 'examination by torture.'

crudelē; 40. 7 'crudelē senatus consultum.' (Weiss.)

impotens, 'unrestrained,' 'merciless.'

§ 6. *nervos*, 'the men who were the sinews of conspiracy.'

§ 10. *exsecutos*. Cic. Sest. 65. 135 'ii medentur reipublicae qui exsecant pestem.' (Weiss.)

cui ex iniuria, 'the cause of the army frantic with their wrongs.' As Livy does not afterwards imply that the army had any real complaint, Weissenborn suggests that the reference here is to their old complaint about usury.

§ 11. *agrum colere*, 'had a farm.'

§ 13. *quod bene verteret*, 'as an omen of success.'

facturum, 'that he would act of his own free will.'

§ 14. *nihil medium*, 'nothing to choose between.'

ubi restitaret = when he hesitated.

§ 15. *exterrito*, dative.

miraculo, ablative after *exterrito*, 'frightened and astonished at the sudden occurrence.'

Chap. 40, § 1. *omnibus*, 'dativus ethicus.'

§ 2. *tam fortes ad*. As in the civil war between Marius and Sulla, Caesar and Pompey. *fortes ad*; cp. 'ferox ad,' 'rudis ad.' (Weiss.)

ultima rabies, 'the farthest their frenzy reached.'

§ 3. *quem armorum*, 'who was tired of fighting for his country, much more so (disinclined to fight) against it.'

nedum, because a negative is implied in 'satietas teneret.' Tac. Dial. 25. 3 'etiam iisdem saeculis, nedum diversis.' (Weiss.)

§ 4. *cognito* = agnito, 'recognised.'

- veniam, 'their grace,' 'favour.'
- de vobis . . . partae. On the analogy of 'victoria parta,' &c.; 'of winning a reconciliation, not a victory over you.'
- § 5. hinc, 'from the present emergency.'
- quod = whereas; literally, 'as to that which.'
- nuncupanda, ('nomen-capio') always of public naming or declaring. 41. 10 'secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata.'
- compotem voti, 'able to fulfil this vow.'
- § 6. patriae vestrae, 'on the hills of your native land.'
- § 7. nobilitatem, 'aristocratic birth.'
- in me severior, 'sterner towards myself.'
- § 8. subdere spiritus, 'could inspire pride.'
- id specimen mei, 'such a proof of my capacity.' 5. 26. 10 'cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis specimen.'
- patribus ferox, 'be proud towards,' 'haughty with.'
- § 9. tribuni, '(of me) when I was tribune;' 'tribunus militum in legione,' supra 36. 2.
- haec imperiosa, 'this dictatorship with all its power,' absolute.
- § 10. strinxeritis, second future; 'you shall draw the sword.'
- istinc, 'from your side.'
- § 11. Sacer mons: B.C. 494; 2. 32. 2.
- Aventinum: B.C. 449; 3. 50. 13.
- § 12. Coriolano; 2. 40, &c.
- crinibus passis, ('pando') 'dishevelled.'
- ne, 'assuredly will desist.'
- § 14. et ferte, as usually, equivalent to the future. Cp. 34. 2. 13 'date frenos et sperate.' (Weiss.)
- vel iniquis, 'rather must we abide by unfair terms.'
- impias manus. Virg. Aen. 6. 612:—
- 'quique arma secuti
Impia.'
- i.e. rebels against their country.
- § 16. nolite velle. Cic. Phil. 7. 8 'nolite id velle quod fieri non potest.' (Weiss.)
- § 17. qui . . . alios, 'the senate had others ready to fight more bitterly against you.'
- § 18. fallacibus. Sall. Jug. 64. 5 'cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus.' (Weiss.)
- § 19. Quin permittimus? 'why do we not entrust?' Virg. Aen. 4. 99:—
- 'Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
Exercemus?'
- Chap. 41, § 2. nihil cavere, 'personally (he said) he made no stipulation for himself.'

semel plebi, in the first secession.

legionibus; 3. 54. 5, where the same phrase is used.

ne fraudi, 'that the secession should not be for an injury' = that there should be a complete amnesty for the secession; cp. *μη μνησι-κακεῖν*.

§ 3. *bona venia*; 6. 40. 10 'He begged them also as citizens (*Quirites*) that by their good leave no one,' &c. *bona venia Quirites* would be part of his actual address.

exprobraret, 'taunt.'

§ 4. *lex sacrata*, i. e. a plebiscitum, by which the plebs bound themselves by oath to punish anyone who broke it, including a '*consecratio capitis*' of the magistrates who violated it. (Weiss.)

ne cuius. Probably the consuls had had the power to discharge any soldier (and so deprive him of his '*stipendium*'); so that this is a limitation of their '*imperium*.' (Weiss.)

nomen deleteretur, 'name be struck off.'

ubi, 'in the legion in which.'

ordinum duotor, explained in the next clause = *centurio*.

§ 5. *primi pili*; supra 13. 1, note.

§ 6. *novis*, 'mutinous,' 'revolutionary.'

§ 7. *suum*, 'his own.'

§ 8. *impotens*, 'fruitless,' 'unavailing.' Weissenborn explains 'shameless.'

de stipendio equitum; 5. 7. 12 'et equiti certus numerus aeris est assignatus.' 'Tum primum equis suis merere equites coeperunt.' For the establishment of the '*centuriae equitum*,' see 1. 43. 8.

merebant, 'they received (earned) three times as much (as the infantry).'

Chap. 42, § 1. *ne . . . liceret*; cp. Tac. Ann. 6. 16 '*postremo vetita versura*;' Appian, B.C. 1. 54 *νόμον τινὸς παλαιῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις, ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν*. (Weiss.)

§ 2. *cautum*, 'provision was made by.'

utique liceret, 'that in any case it might be legal.'

§ 3. *annales*, i. e. *libri*. The Pontifex Maximus wrote a record of the events of each year on tablets which were hung up in his house: these were called the *Annales Maximi*, and are referred to by writers briefly as '*annales*.'

ad arma consternatum, 'were excited to revolt.' A special use of '*consterno* (-are),' cp. 21. 24. 2.

§ 7. *Adeo*, &c., 'simply nothing, then, is agreed upon by ancient authorities, except that there was an outbreak and that it was pacified.'

1

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1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The paper then discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States in the context of the world. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the world and its people. The paper then discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States in the context of the future. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the future and its people.

